

## DOCTORAL THESIS

### **Memorialisation of the second Boer War in British public and private schools and its implications for WWI remembrance**

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# **Memorialisation of the second Boer War in British Public and Private Schools and its implications for WWI remembrance**



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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of PhD.**

**Department of Humanities, University of Roehampton**

**2018**

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# *Abstract*

Thus far in the twenty-first century there has been an increase of interest, and historiography, in the memory of war and its commemoration. Much of this has understandably been directed toward the Great War of 1914-1918: understandably because various centenary anniversaries would occur in contemporary times and huge numbers of families, only distant by two or three generations, were tragically affected. The second Boer War of 1899-1902, however, shocked late-Victorian Britain, and its Empire, as such an intractable enemy, and large loss of life in international conflict, had not been experienced within living memory. The memorialisation which followed recognised the individual as never before and went a long way toward acknowledging equality of sacrifice by affording casualty names uniformity of treatment. My thesis will focus on the sites of remembrance erected in schools but will also branch out into the wider community to make comparisons. It will look back into the nineteenth century to examine the traditions of memorialisation and forward into the twentieth to juxtapose Boer War memorials with those of WWI. In between it will discuss and analyse the men memorialised and how those who commissioned, designed, constructed, and unveiled a wide variety of memorials, went about their task.

Records pertaining to a substantial number of schools, located throughout the British Isles, have been uniquely interrogated and the resulting work adds to the knowledge of how that section of the community reacted to, and remembered, the loss of alumni life in circumstances of war. Existing historiography is both enhanced and confronted.

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# Abbreviations

## Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Explanation
AAD	Archive of Art & Design, Victoria and Albert Museum
ADR	Ashplant, T.G., Dawson, G., and Roper, M.
A&SH	Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders
BGA	Bristol Grammar Archives
BLI	British Library
BMD	Births, Marriages, Deaths
CCA	Cheltenham College Archives
CCB	Clifton College Archives
CHA	Charterhouse Archives
CHG	Chatham House Grammar Archives
DSA	Dragon School (Oxford Preparatory) Archives
DSO	Distinguished Service Order
ECA	Eton College Archives
HMC	Headmasters' Conference
IHS	A christogram forming an abbreviation for the name Jesus Christ
KRRC	King's Royal Rifle Corps
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MGS	Maidstone Grammar Archives
MTS	Merchant Taylors' School, London, Archives
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
OBL	Oxford University Bodleian Library

# *Abbreviations continued*

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OEs	Old Etonians
RCA	Radley College Archives
RSA	Repton School Archives
SGS	Stamford Grammar Archives
SJL	St. John's School Archives
SLB	Simon Langton Boys' School Archives
SPS	St. Paul's School Archives
SSA	Sherborne School Archives
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
TPL	The Pepys Library, Cambridge
UCS	University College School
VC	Victoria Cross
WCA	Winchester College Archives
WSA	Westminster School Archives

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# *Prologue*

## *Charles Richard Alfred Toller*



Charles Richard Alfred Toller was born on Sunday 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1878,<sup>2</sup> the eldest son of Charles Bolton Toller and his wife Alice.<sup>3</sup> Charles grew up in comfortable surroundings. At the time of the 1881 census he was living with his parents, sister and three servants at Wood Bank Hall, Cheadle.<sup>4</sup> By the time of the next census, that of 1891, the family had moved to Aston Bank, Hawarden, Chester, where they now employed five servants including a governess and coachman. Charles entered Harrow School in May 1892 and was later educated at University College Oxford.<sup>5</sup> On Monday 5<sup>th</sup> February 1900, whilst still at Oxford, he volunteered to join the 59<sup>th</sup> Company Oxfordshire Imperial Yeomanry, as a trooper.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> TNA. Middlesex, Harrow School Photographs of Pupils & Masters 1869-1925. Plate number 15019.1; 15019.2.

<sup>2</sup> Imperial War Museum's Wat Memorials Register © WMR-13446.

<sup>3</sup> TNA. England & Wales marriages 1837-2005. Cheadle, Staffordshire, volume 6B, page number 393.

<sup>4</sup> TNA. 1881 England, Wales & Scotland Census. Archive reference RG11, Piece number 2747, Folio 99, Page 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Harrovian*, Vol,XIII, No.6, Saturday, July28th 1900, p.75.

<sup>6</sup> TNA. WO128-Imperial Yeomanry, Soldiers' Documents, South African War 1899-1902. Box 0026, Record number 103.

Charles sailed for South Africa aboard the steamship *Mahratta* on Wednesday 7<sup>th</sup> March 1900 together with a full complement of officers, men, and horses.<sup>7</sup> News that Charles had been killed in action at Heilbron, on Thursday 7<sup>th</sup> June, was received at his home town of Hawarden on Friday 15<sup>th</sup> June.<sup>8</sup> A memorial service was held at St. Deiniol's, the parish church, on Sunday 17<sup>th</sup>, although Charles had, in fact, only been wounded during battle and did not die from those wounds until almost two weeks later – on Saturday 30<sup>th</sup> June.<sup>9</sup> It was said, at his memorial service, that Charles had 'showed a noble spirit, a readiness to give up the comforts of home for the discomforts and dangers of a trooper's life'.<sup>10</sup> The Hawarden Parish Magazine later remarked that three of Charles' Oxford friends had also volunteered to go to South Africa as troopers and that his loss should be 'a high lesson of conscience and duty for us all'.<sup>11</sup>

Charles is commemorated both at Harrow School and Hawarden Parish Church. The school added 'transepts' and porches 'at the north and south sides of the chapel chancel',<sup>12</sup> and Charles' name appears in the south transept as well as in the pages of a memorial book. At St. Deiniol's he is remembered by a sculpture over the north door and a stone cross in the churchyard mounted on a stepped base.

This thesis tells the story of men like Charles Toller; of the places where they were educated, and of the processes embarked upon to memorialise their deaths as a result

<sup>7</sup> "OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT. "Embarcation Of Troops." *Times* [London, England] 8 Mar. 1900: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 2 Mar. 2018.

<sup>8</sup> *Cheshire Observer* – Saturday 23 June 1900.

<sup>9</sup> Imperial War Museum's Wat Memorials Register © WMR-13446.

<sup>10</sup> *Cheshire Observer* – Saturday 23 June 1900.

<sup>11</sup> *Cheshire Observer* – Saturday 07 July 1900.

<sup>12</sup> Parkhouse, V.B., (2015) *Memorializing The Anglo-Boer War Of 1899-1902: Militarization Of The Landscape: Monuments And Memorials In Britain*, Beauchamp, Leicestershire: Matador. p.210.

of armed conflict. Like him, they were all young, enthusiastic for country and empire, and willing to wage war in defence of their beliefs and way of life. Many, Charles included, had been prepared, despite a privileged upbringing, to serve at the army's most junior rank. The memory of their time and contribution to history will be comprehensively explored in the following chapters.



## *Introduction*

This thesis will discuss and analyse, in six chapters, the early twentieth century memorialisation of public/private school alumni who perished in war. It will concentrate on casualties of the second Boer War which commenced on Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> October 1899 and concluded on Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> May 1902. The central four chapters are sandwiched between *The Boer War within the Traditions of Memorialisation* which looks backwards, to set the memorialisation scene, and *The Future of Commemoration* which looks forwards, to determine how Boer War commemoration impacted on memorials erected in the wake of the First World War.

Ashplant, Dawson and Roper (ADR), in introducing a collection of case studies, stated that there had been a ‘proliferation of public interest’,<sup>1</sup> during the last two decades of the twentieth century, in war memory and commemoration. They, and their contributors, responded to this interest by expressing differing viewpoints and theoretical assumptions on the topic, much of it related to the great conflict of 1914-1918. With the centenary anniversaries associated with that period, interest in this area, both public and academic, has substantially increased since ADR made their comment in the year 2000. Yet Peter Donaldson, writing thirteen years later, contends that memorial construction in the first decade of the twentieth century ‘has not been deemed worthy of investigation in its own right’.<sup>2</sup> In agreement with that observation, the ambition of this thesis is to go some way toward filling an existing research gap.

<sup>1</sup> Ashplant, T.G., Dawson, G., and Roper, M., (2000) ‘The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration: Contexts, Structures and Dynamics’, in Ashplant, T.G., Dawson, G., and Roper, M., (eds.), (2000) *The Politics Of War Memory And Commemoration*, London: Routledge. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Donaldson, P., (2013) ‘The Commemoration Of The South African War (1899-1902) In British Public Schools’ in *History & Memory*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Fall/Winter 2013, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press). p.33.

In doing so, it will, on occasion, branch out beyond public/private schools and thus also complement existing work in the field.

The second Boer, or South African, War was the first in the modern era to generally reinstate the ancient practice of commemorating the individual, irrespective of class, rank, or manner of death and it led to the establishment of a new culture of commemoration. Public/private schools lost many former pupils in that conflict and had the ability to generate the funds necessary to create remembrance sites in their memory. They exclusively controlled the space in which memorials would be constructed, or placed, and they had the necessary contact and influence to attract individuals of high social position to perform the unveilings. Their magazines and archives provide a level of source material upon which to work. Such schools therefore provide a good lens through which to study memorialisation in this period. Questions of how the schools came to terms with their loss, how, and what, they chose to commemorate, and how, in the act of commemoration, they viewed the defeated enemy, will all be addressed.

Commemoration within schools was a process which needed to be managed and the study will also look at the ways in which individual schoolmasteries went about the tasks of settling arguments, making decisions, raising money and carrying general school, and outside, opinion along with the conclusions reached. In doing so the wider issues of leadership and management within a range of educational establishments will be included in the examination.

The terms ‘public’ and ‘private’ when attached to the word ‘school’, in the Victorian/Edwardian era, can be somewhat confusing and this section will open with a discussion on each, in order to clarify what is meant throughout the thesis by the use of both phrases. A sub-division discussing the primary sources employed will follow prior to a brief description of the arguments made in each of the six chapters. This introductory chapter will then conclude by setting out the historiography and its relationship to the thesis as a whole. Firstly, however, a word should be said on the subject of gender.

Pupils at the vast majority of the schools examined were all male as were their tutors, principals, and governors. It was men who were killed in action, or died of wounds, in South Africa; it was men who commissioned memorial schemes, and it was very largely men who unveiled the memorials and gave speeches to those witnessing the event. All-female places of education were relatively few and far between in the late nineteenth century and the study has located only eleven to examine whereas the number of all-male schools included is 217. Men, therefore, will be found to be the primary focus throughout the thesis.

Women nevertheless made a strong contribution, as, for example, nurses and journalists and they also slightly participated in the design and unveiling of memorials, as mentioned in Chapter Five. No all-female school has been found to have erected any memorial to women who may have died as a result of the war, but it should be noted that Clara Evans, an Army Nursing Reserve sister who died of enteric fever at Bloemfontein, is commemorated at St. Helen’s Town Hall, Lancashire. Anne Summers comments that this casualty thus ‘earned the melancholy distinction of being



the first woman to have her name engraved alongside those of combatant soldiers on a memorial to the war dead'.<sup>3</sup>

## *Types of Victorian School*

### *Public Schools*

There has always been some confusion with regard to the precise definition of a public school. John Raymond de Symons Honey points out that, from about 1870 onward, the first enquiry asked of applicants for salaried appointments was '*where were you at school?*'.<sup>4</sup> The question presupposed an appreciation of the comparative standing of various schools and the answer obviously had some significance. The vital knowledge which the enquirer needed consequently became: '*which schools would have counted as public schools?*'.<sup>5</sup> Even the schools themselves, however, as will be shown later,<sup>6</sup> could not agree on which of their number were to be regarded as 'public'.

Edward Bowen, a sometime house-master at Harrow School,<sup>7</sup> attempting in 1872 to clarify the matter, wrote that he would use the phrase 'with no narrow limitation, and define it as including all schools which may wish to adopt the title'.<sup>8</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) describes 'public school', in its original sense, as 'any of a class of grammar schools founded or endowed for public use and subject to public management or control'. The dictionary goes on to inform that the term was officially

<sup>3</sup> Summers, A., (1988) *Angels And Citizens: British Women As Military Nurses 1854-1914*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. p.204.

<sup>4</sup> Honey, J.R. de S., (1977) *Tom Brown's Universe: The Development Of The Victorian Public School*, London: Millington Books Ltd. p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Chapter Two, *Men Memorialised*, pages 144/145.

<sup>7</sup> [Anon.], 'Bowen, Edward Ernest (1836–1901)', rev. M. C. Curthoys, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31998, accessed 19 Jan 2017].

<sup>8</sup> Bowen, W.E., (1902) *Edward Bowen: A Memoir By The Rev. The Hon. W.E. Bowen, M.A.* London: Longmans, Green, and Company. p. 316.

used in July 1860 in the appointment of a Royal (Clarendon) Commission. The Public Schools Act 1868, aimed at regulating leading boys' schools, resulted from that authority and it named only seven institutions – Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Westminster and Winchester. These were, at that time, the only schools, which could, strictly speaking, claim the title 'public'. OED explains that the definition changed, toward the end of the nineteenth century, to 'a fee-paying secondary school which developed from former endowed grammar schools; [took] pupils from beyond the local constituency; and [offered] boarding facilities'. 'Public' therefore became a name generally used to include other schools of similar organisation to the original seven. In fact, Clarendon had investigated nine educational establishments but two day-schools, St Paul's and Merchant Taylors', were excluded from the Act, the remaining seven being boarding-schools. For historian and academic George Macaulay Trevelyan the definition was more straightforward when he observed that those claiming the term 'public' were 'schools where the sons of the gentry were educated'.<sup>9</sup> The complicated background led Honey to conclude, when writing in 1977, that the question of which schools could be counted as 'public' was 'difficult to answer even today'.<sup>10</sup> Eleven years later, William Reader went a little further in his comment 'the term "public school" has never been amenable to precise definition'.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Trevelyan, G.M., (1973) *English Social History: A Survey Of Six Centuries Chaucer To Queen Victoria*, London: Book Club Associates. p.77.

<sup>10</sup> Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, 238.

<sup>11</sup> Reader, W.J., (1988) *At Duty's Call: A study in Obsolete Patriotism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 84.

### *Private Schools*

The 1868 report of the Taunton Commission, appointed to inquire into secondary-school education as a whole, excluded the nine establishments investigated by Clarendon, describing them as ‘schools in which boys of the middle and upper classes are educated’.<sup>12</sup> In excluding nine schools Taunton implied that the two day-schools not covered by the Act which resulted from Clarendon, could also be considered ‘public’. Taunton thus possibly initiated the confusion as to what the term public school actually meant. All other schools his Commission divided into three classes, *Endowed*, *Private*, and *Proprietary*, defining each as follows:

By *Endowed* schools we mean schools maintained wholly or partly by means of a permanent charitable endowment.<sup>13</sup>

The term *Private* schools we confine to such as are the property of a master or mistress who conducts them.<sup>14</sup>

All schools, which are neither maintained wholly or partially by any permanent charitable endowment, nor the property of the masters or mistresses, we call *Proprietary*.<sup>15</sup>

OED defines ‘private school’ as ‘a fee-paying school run for the personal profit of the proprietors; a school which does not receive state funding and is not subject to the state education authority’. As Trevelyan saw a simple definition of public school, however, so did Thomas Hughes see a straightforward difference between public and private. ‘The theory of private schools’, he wrote, is ‘constant supervision out of school; therein differing fundamentally from that of public schools’.<sup>16</sup> Hughes was the author of *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*, but he was well qualified to comment on school differences having been first educated at a private institution near Twyford,

<sup>12</sup> U.K. *Parliamentary Papers*, Royal Com. To inquire into Education in Schools in England and Wales: Volume 1. Report. Paper Series: Command Papers, Parliamentary Session: 1867-68, Chair/Author: Labouchere, Henry, Bn. Taunton. Paper Number 3966. p.8.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p.9.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Hughes, T., (1872) *Tom Brown’s School Days*, London: Macmillan & Co. p. 58.

Hampshire, before attending Rugby School, a member of the Clarendon seven and the Taunton nine.<sup>17</sup>

### *Public/Private Conclusion*

Taking account of all these definitions and comments, this thesis will use either the phrase ‘public/private’ or simply the word ‘private’ to describe all of the schools to be discussed. 217 men-only schools are included in this study, as listed in Appendix C pages 357-361, and 213 will be classified as ‘public/private’ on the basis that they were widely recognised as public schools, whatever the strict definition of the phrase, and notwithstanding the fact that some may have been in private ownership. Most of the schools were/are secondary, but some primary institutions have also been included. The remaining four schools have been considered as being properly described by just the word ‘private’. They are Gordon Boys’, Woking, Surrey; Chertsey School of Handicrafts, also in Surrey; Simon Langton Boys', Canterbury; and Royal Hibernian Military School, Dublin.

Gordon’s was established as a memorial to General Gordon of Khartoum who, The Prince of Wales remarked on the school’s opening day, had ‘taken great interest’ in ‘boys whom he saw destitute in the streets’ and had done ‘his best to find them homes where they could get a good sound education and from which they might thereafter go forth apprenticed to trades or serving in our Army or our Navy’.<sup>18</sup> The Chertsey school was described by *Morning Post* as being for ‘destitute boys’.<sup>19</sup> It was founded by

<sup>17</sup> Charlotte Mitchell, ‘Hughes, Thomas (1822–1896)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2012 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14091, accessed 27 Jan 2017].

<sup>18</sup> "The Gordon Boys' Home." *Times* [London, England] 10 May 1886: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 23 Jan. 2017.

<sup>19</sup> *Morning Post* – Saturday 6 June 1891.

Thomas Hawksley, a ‘consultant physician at the [London] Infirmary for Consumption’,<sup>20</sup> who ‘devoted a lifetime to the accumulation of a fund’ with which to open the school.<sup>21</sup> Simon Langton Boys’ was originally one of Canterbury’s ‘middle schools’, founded to ‘induce the mechanic, the farmer, or the little tradesman to send his children thither’.<sup>22</sup> The institution changed its name in 1887 to that of a former archdeacon of Canterbury who had ‘founded the Poor Priests’ Estate’, the income of which was used for the support of this school’.<sup>23</sup> Royal Hibernian Military School was established in Dublin, during the reign of George III, to maintain, educate and apprentice, ‘the orphans and children of soldiers in Ireland’.<sup>24</sup> These four places of learning, then, catered for a different class of boy to the others and, as such, they provide some useful comparisons, as will become apparent as the thesis develops.<sup>25</sup> In these circumstances it is appropriate that they are separately labelled to the other schools. Having clarified the terms public and private and explained their meanings within the thesis, the way is now clear to discuss the primary sources which have been consulted and how the information they reveal has been handled.

### *Primary Sources*

#### *Gildea and Kernot*

Colonel Sir James Gildea and Charles Frederic Kernot each published works in the early years of the twentieth century which listed war memorials erected in schools.

<sup>20</sup> Boase, F., (1912) *Modern English Biography, Containing Many Thousand Concise Memoirs Of Persons Who Have Died During The Years 1851-1900*, vol. V., D-K, Truro: Netherton and Worth for the author.

<sup>21</sup> BRABAZON. "Education As IT IS And As IT Ought To Be." *Times* [London, England] 5 Jan. 1887: 3+. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 23 Jan. 2017.

<sup>22</sup> *Canterbury Weekly Journal and Farmers’ Gazette* – Saturday 1 December 1838.

<sup>23</sup> *Canterbury Weekly Journal, Kentish Times and Farmers’ Gazette* – Saturday 12 March 1887.

<sup>24</sup> *Regulations For The Establishment And Government Of The Royal Hibernian Military School*, (1819) Dublin: Hibernian Society. p.5.

<sup>25</sup> See, particularly, Chapter Two, *Men Memorialised*, pp. 111 through to 113.

Gildea catalogued those relating to the Boer War and Kernot those relating to WWI, although neither man attempted to explore the memorials beyond giving each a brief description. In relation to the British Isles, Gildea lists eighty-one sites and Kernot 149. Fifty locations appear in both lists so that the total number of different schools listed between the two men is 180. These basic empirical surveys have provided a useful starting point for the much deeper research undertaken for this thesis and to the number covered I have added a further thirty-seven schools, on the basis that they might be expected to have lost ex-pupils in the Boer War. The total number of all-male schools examined is therefore 217 and the total number of casualties suffered by this number, in the South African War, is 1,121. Details of all these schools and Boer/WWI casualties I have entered into a relational database.

### *Relational Database*

School information, in addition to identifiers, includes region, religion, the extent of records and of military ethos, and a school classification system. Details of casualty numbers, broken down by cause of death, and who designed, built, worked upon and unveiled the memorials have also been noted. School population, at the time of war, has either been firmly established or, in a few cases, estimated from figures available earlier in the century. Snippets of additional interest, originating in newspaper reports, school magazines, visits to repositories and conversations with school contacts have also been recorded. The source net has been deliberately cast as wide as possible so as not to be totally reliant on just school documentation and run the attendant possible risk of just reflecting a self-image.

The types of memorial are diverse, but a coding system identifies each and indicates those instances where there may be more than one memorial. The database has been built with all of this information in relation to the Boer War. Additionally, family details and background, gleaned primarily from census returns, have also been transcribed. In relation to WWI just those details relating to the memorials (type, architect, designer and number of casualties) have been recorded. The resultant database is therefore highly comprehensive and I believe it comprises the largest source base of any researcher working in this area. A schematic representation of the database is included at Appendix B, page 362.

### *Memorials*

The memorials themselves speak on three levels – form, location and inscription. Chapters Four and Five present, on their opening page, an image of a statue of St. George erected by Clifton College, Bristol, as its Boer War memorial. Chapter Four deals with planning and design and the opening graphic shows a sketch of Clifton's memorial presented, by the sculptor, to a memorial committee set up during this stage of the process. Chapter Five discusses opening ceremonies and the graphic here is of the finished statue, photographed on the day of its unveiling. Clifton provides a perfect example of the three messages delivered by all of the various memorials to be discussed.

Many different forms of memorial appear throughout the thesis, ranging from simple plaques, through ornate obelisks, to utilitarian sites of remembrance such as, for instance, libraries or chapels. Each form gives an indication of the finance made available, the preferences of the planners and the skill of the designers and builders.

All of the memorials were carefully positioned at locations where they could convey their meanings to as wide a constituency as possible. Inscription wording was also painstakingly selected to appropriately honour the dead and provide didactic guidance for the living. In the particular case of Clifton College, over £160,000, in today's terms, was raised and the planners, acting on the results of an alumni poll, chose a medieval version of St. George. The sculptor incorporated various allegorical features whilst being at pains to ensure that the face conveyed, what he considered to be, an appealing set of characteristics. The statue was prominently placed looking out toward South Africa across Clifton's sports fields – an area of special significance to the College, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter.<sup>26</sup> Inscribed on three sides of the architectural pedestal on which St. George stands are the names of the fallen, listed in a particular way. On the fourth side was written the lines of a poem which entreated readers not only to remember those being memorialised but to also recall that they had learned the art of war at the College itself. The form, location and text of all the memorials have been examined and an analysis of the results has provided material for Chapters Four, Five and Six.

### *School Sources*

The level of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century records kept by individual schools differs enormously. Newbridge College, founded in County Kildare in 1852 as a successor to the ancient Priory of St. Eustace in Naas, for example, has no comprehensive record before 1950. Neither were any of their records transferred elsewhere. The Kildare County Archivist has no information and the Newbridge Librarian admits to a school policy, still in existence, of not recording what may have

<sup>26</sup> Pages 48/49.



happened to pupils once they left the school. Eton College, on the other hand, holds copious records. Following the loss of alumni in war, the College appointed committees to finance, design and build memorials. In the case of WWI, a Council, responsible to a general meeting of ex-pupils, was established and it appointed five sub-committees to bring its plans to fruition. Minutes of all committee and general meetings survive, whilst two in-house magazines also reported progress. In addition, College activities were well reported in the press. In between these two extremes come the many schools which produced in-house periodicals or other publications. Periodicals were published on a regular basis and have been found to provide both background and specific material related to both school events and those who participated in them.

### *Other sources*

As previously mentioned, it has been considered important, throughout the research not to rely solely on school sources. Newspapers, both national and local, have therefore been extensively examined and research has been conducted at a variety of repositories as demonstrated in the bibliography. Holding all of this source material in the database has allowed a comprehensive interrogation of an unparalleled range of material. The results form the basis of the following chapters and a description of the central and individual chapter arguments contained in each follows.

The central argument is that there was a remarkable consistency and continuity both in the personnel chosen to unveil Boer War and WWI memorials in schools and in the speeches which they made on those occasions. To be sure there were also differences, for example in the mood and the types of memorial decided upon, and these will be

flagged as the thesis progresses. The personnel consistency however lies in the fact that, in the majority of cases, the unveiler in both sets of commemoration was either a military man or a member of the clergy. Further, that in the case of the first instance, a military figure was most often supported by a cleric whilst in the second the situation was reversed, and support came from a member of the military. Speeches made at schools in both the first and third decades of the twentieth century concentrated on the themes of sacrifice and duty, perhaps with an understandable greater emphasis on those terms following the huge loss of life in WWI. Two other consistencies should be mentioned. No conflict has been found between history and memory in the two sets of memorials and the meaning of Boer War memorials in schools therefore remained intact. There has also been no disillusionment with war and its aftermath detected in schools. A level of disenchantment has been observed in public-space memorials to South African War victims and a stronger sense of disappointment, disillusionment, again in the public space, in the decade following WWI. Public/private schools, in particular, used continuity in commemoration to maintain continuity of their role in educating and moulding boys to become future leaders in both country and empire.



**Chapter One**, the first of the ‘sandwich’ chapters, will investigate the origins of memorialisation and later look in some detail at how it developed throughout the nineteenth century. Three particular conflicts, Napoleonic, Crimean and Sepoy, resulted in some commemoration of the individual rather than the war.

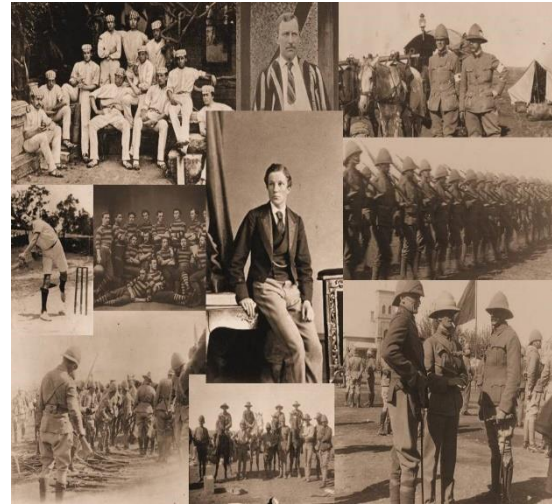
That individual was likely, at the beginning of the century, to have been a heroic member of the elite, not necessarily killed in battle or having suffered death through battle wounds or disease. By the end of the period he could be an ordinary soldier, killed on the battlefield, or having died from a number of causes, including accident and suicide.

Loss of life, therefore, became the qualification for memorialisation whereas survival, in addition to loss of life, could render an individual eligible during the first half of the 1800s. The chapter will argue that a vocabulary of commemoration, based on ancient traditions, had been established by the time of the second Boer War and that, following the settlement of hostilities, the memorial makers had a variety of commemorative forms available to them. Two case-study memorials, one located in London, one in Dublin, will be presented and various elements of their traditional forms discussed. Disillusionment with war is largely considered to be a feature of the 1920s but the chapter will assert, and demonstrate, that men returning from the conflict in South Africa could equally have found that they were coming back to unexpected, and unwelcome, conditions at home. Finally, in Chapter One, it will be shown that, particularly in the mid-nineteenth century, the press overtly sought to influence public opinion in the matter of memorialisation and that it later used unveiling and opening ceremonies to deliver its own messages on such subjects as empire and loyalty to the crown.

**Chapter Two** (thumbnail overleaf) will thoroughly enquire into the alumni of the 217 schools covered by the study who died as a result of the South African War. As these individuals grew up and lived in a hierarchical society, it will particularly examine the

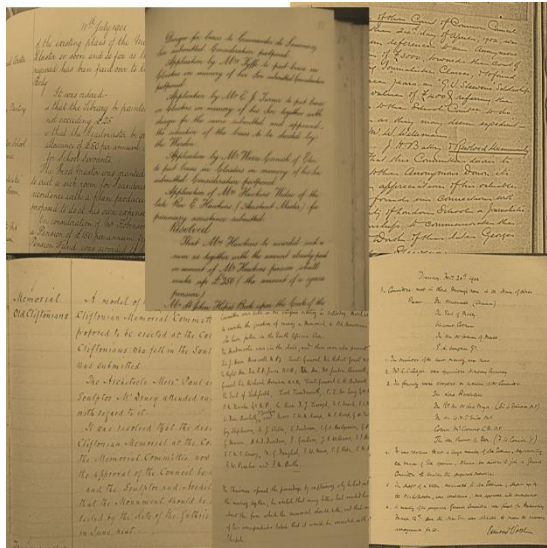
question of class, both in their family backgrounds and how their schools handled class issues in the memorials which they erected. The chapter will, perhaps unexpectedly, detect, as a result of its analysis of early twentieth-century memorials, that cracks were already beginning to appear in the Victorian/Edwardian class system.<sup>27</sup>

Because most of the subjects of this chapter were educated in the public/private school system, it might be anticipated that this particular demographic would have mostly entered military service as members of the officer class



Because they were not conscripted, it might also be expected that they were reluctant to go to war, especially as, since leaving school, many had embarked on a satisfying career, or were living the life of a well-to-do gentleman with no particular need, or inclination, to seek paid employment. In the event about one third of those studied joined army units at the lowest possible rank, and in the full knowledge that promotion to higher rank was not a possibility. They were also keen to enlist as volunteers, even in instances where to do so necessitated personal expenditure on items such as clothing, equipment and accoutrements. Detailed explanations for their motives will be found in this chapter. The locations of the 217 schools, and the places of birth of the majority of men, will also be discussed here, as will the type, military ethos and religious outlook of the schools they attended.

<sup>27</sup> Chapter Two, *Men Memorialised*, page. 145.



**Chapter Three** will concentrate on the process of commissioning school memorials. French historian Pierre Nora coined the phrase *lieu de mémoire* to describe ‘any significant entity’ which ‘has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community’.<sup>28</sup>

It will have been noted, by this stage,<sup>29</sup> that those charged with the task of bringing such *lieux* into being had a variety of accepted forms – utilitarian, ornamental, didactic, allegorical – from which to choose. This chapter will examine who began to go about that task and the methods by which it was progressed. Individuals involved at this opening phase of the process needed to balance both the expectations of the bereaved and of the school. Memory of the dead needed to be preserved in the memorials, but they should also reflect the ethos of the institution and deliver messages to future pupils. It will be argued that the main contribution by Old Boys to the commissioning process was to use their contacts and charismatic personalities to generate funds and play a part in the day-to-day business of memorial planning. Many school headmasters and members of governing boards had a genuine deep affection for their school, and its pupils. They also had a tendency to use memorials to realise personal dreams of improvements to school facilities for, what they believed to be, the greater good. It will be maintained that headmasters/governors was the dominant group

<sup>28</sup> Lagae, J., (2010) ‘From “Patrimoine Partagé” To “Whose Heritage?”: Critical Reflections On Colonial Built Heritage In The City Of Lubumbashi, Democratic Republic Of The Congo’ in Fenster, T., and Yacobi, H., (eds.) (2010) *Remembering, Forgetting And City Builders*, Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited. p. 181.

<sup>29</sup> From Chapter One.

behind decisions on memorial type. Such choices were not always easily accepted by other constituents and sometimes sharp exchanges were generated. A particular case study of Eton College will be used to demonstrate the point.<sup>30</sup>

**Chapter Four** (thumbnail overleaf) moves the discussion on to the design and construction of school memorials. Anna Jackson, in her examination of shapes and motifs as indicators of style, contends that as Britain's trade and empire expanded during the nineteenth century so did the sources for design.<sup>31</sup> The Arts and Crafts movement was in full swing by century end and those involved in design were keen to fabricate visually pleasing images which reflected the values of the society which produced them. It is evident that this enthusiasm, as it applied to remembrance, resulted in meaning and significance being incorporated in memorial style. Stained-glass had enjoyed an increase in popularity during the nineteenth century and this chapter will find that three particular themes – triumphalism, righteousness of cause and promise of eternal life – were the messages included in this type of school memorial. Stained-glass had the great advantage of being invariably installed in the school chapel and therefore seen by boys on a regular, often daily, basis.

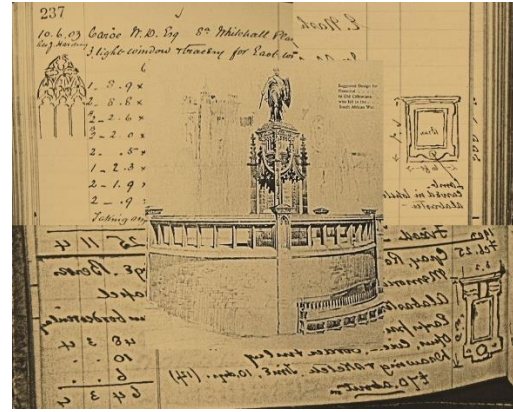
Glass was, nevertheless, by no means the only, or even dominant, memorial type and a number of others will also be discussed. From a didactic viewpoint, the placing of statues, plaques, obelisks etc., was equally important and the chapter will discuss a number of examples prior to categorising them into memorial type.

<sup>30</sup> A comparative case study, also based on Eton College, appears in Chapter Six, *The Future of Commemoration*.

<sup>31</sup> Jackson, A., with Hinton, M., (2006) *The V&A Guide To Period Styles: 400 Years Of British Art And Design*, first published 2002, London: V&A Publications.



One such firm, James Powell & Sons, of Whitefriars, and its customer, Merchant Taylors' School, will be used as a case study to reveal how its memorial was ordered and the length of time it took to produce.



The geographical relationship between suppliers and schools will be analysed together with an assessment of the quality of designers and architects. Finally, in Chapter Four, it will be found that in a male-dominated world of schoolboys, masters, designers, architects and craftsmen, a very slight inroad was being made by women.



**Chapter Five** conducts an analysis of unveiling ceremonies to determine when they took place, by whom, and in what atmosphere. The subject will also be examined in the wider community in order to arrive at some comparisons.

It is well known, at least in academic circles, that, leaving to one side the alumni discussed in this thesis, Britain's youth was, in large measure, physically unprepared for service in the Boer War.<sup>32</sup> It is similarly known that most religions, in particular the established church, were suffering a decline in attendance during the nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Against this background senior military men who were invited to unveil

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, Judd, D., and Surridge, K., (2013) *The Boer War A History*, London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd. pp. 59-60.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, McLeod, H., (1996) *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd. p. 223.

memorials felt an obligation to inspire boys and youngsters not only to physical fitness and military preparedness, but, with an eye on possible future developments, to duty and possible sacrifice as well. Similarly, clergy felt a compulsion to inspire their audiences in such a way as might be expected to halt further decline in future church attendances. Both sets of individuals were strong supporters of empire and Britain's imperial mission. Military personnel because it was their task to acquire, guard over and defend imperial territory and clergy because many felt a duty to spread Christianity and British values as far afield as possible. Both were also well aware of the commercial value of empire and of the fact that an important duty at school unveilings was to validate and endorse the moral principles of the particular school. How each group went about these tasks is revealed in the speeches given and the atmosphere in which those speeches were received. Chapter Five will comprehensively address both topics. It will also, following the development mentioned in Chapter Four, detect a slight female involvement.

**Chapter Six** (thumbnail overleaf) closes the 'sandwich' by making comparisons between Boer War and WWI commemorations in terms of unveiling mood, those who commissioned, designed and constructed memorials and the task of collecting funds. A comparison will also be made of the time it took to complete memorials and an explanation for the difference suggested. An argument will be advanced that the national frame of mind following each armistice was quite different and that this was precipitated by the nature and perception of each enemy. Disillusionment following war was foreshadowed in Chapter One, but the subject will be dealt with more thoroughly in Chapter Six because it had an impact on speeches made during 1920s unveilings.





The reception of, and reaction to, cease-fire news received by Parliament on Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1902 will be compared to similar news being received on Monday 11<sup>th</sup> November 1918. Chapter Five contends that Boer War commemoration in schools was often linked to celebratory events, such as prize-giving and founders' days, with the result that a lighter atmosphere than might have been expected prevailed. That atmosphere appeared darker and more serious in the 1920s and the point will be discussed in detail. One especially constant theme in both sets of commemoration is the use of images of St. George, sometimes with, sometimes without, the dragon. The legend of St. George and his memorial appearance in the first decade of the twentieth century is considered extensively in Chapter Four whilst in Chapter Six those appearances are critically compared to those taking shape in the third decade.

Having given a brief outline of the six chapters which follow, it is time to move on to discuss a variety of writers whose outputs this thesis has consulted and intends to complement and develop.

## *Historiography*

### *Introduction*

A number of works have been considered and drawn upon in the six-year preparation of this thesis. A representative selection of them will be discussed in this section and comment made as to how they relate to the school memorials considered in the six chapters. In some cases, the experiences of the writers have chimed with experiences gained in the course of school memorial research and observations will be made accordingly. There are areas in which authors share common ground and others where they differ. The section will draw attention as necessary.

The commemoration emphasis will be found to be on WWI, rather than the second Boer War, and this is because writing on that first topic is far more widespread. In fact, almost the only academic study of the issues examined in this thesis is that of Peter Donaldson, published in 2014.<sup>34</sup> Donaldson comments that ‘an important gap [exists] in the form of the conflict’s memorialisation in Britain’ as ‘almost nothing has been written’.<sup>35</sup> His subsequent coverage of Boer War commemoration is wide ranging and includes sections on memorials erected by civic and military bodies through to those located in places of work and worship. He examines two published histories of the war, considering them to be written remembrance sites, comments on early filmic versions, and discusses, in depth, three television documentaries. Amongst this comprehensive analysis, Donaldson examines sixteen public schools, fifteen of which were in England, one in Scotland. Only alumni who participated in the Boer War as commissioned officers are mentioned and some of the schools are

<sup>34</sup> Donaldson, P., (2013) *Remembering The South African War: Britain And The Memory Of The Anglo Boer War, From 1899 To The Present*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. pp.1-2.

given a passing reference. The democratisation of commemoration, to recognise an equality of sacrifice, is highlighted throughout the work as are the ways in which memory of the war was constructed through memorialisation and then changed by a re-examination of the subject later in the century. Referring specifically to schools, Donaldson finds that commemorative processes were initiated by old boys' associations; that 'institutional pride rather than personal loss ... lay at the heart of [school] memorials', and that 'the didactic function of the memorialisation process took precedence over any sense of loss'.<sup>36</sup>

Against the above background, I believe this thesis, in placing schools at the very centre of attention, helps fill an extant research gap in a number of important ways. Over fourteen times as many such institutions have been studied and the geographical range extended to include all regions of the British Isles. All of the schools' Boer casualties, irrespective of rank and manner of death have been investigated whilst many primary sources, not previously interrogated for a study with this focus, have been consulted. Qualitative and quantitative analyses of men, schools, and memorials have been conducted. A number of non-school sites, and memorialisation practices, have been studied but only in order to make comparisons with those erected and performed within school limits. The thesis which results both complements and challenges Donaldson's work. It also adds to the understanding of remembrance memory and the memorialisation view taken by schools in the first decade of the twentieth century whilst making a contrast with a similar view being held twenty years later.

<sup>36</sup> Donaldson, *Remembering The South African War*, 94 and 104.

References to Donaldson's work will be made throughout but it should be said at this stage that the particular challenge is to the driving force behind school commemoration of the Boer War. Donaldson puts this very firmly at the door of old boys whereas my contention is that, in the great majority of cases, headmasters and governing bodies initiated, and at all times controlled, the memorialisation process – even to the extent of pressing alumni into their service.

In surveying the works of other writers, the section beginning with the next paragraph has been sub-divided into themes under the headings *Memorials and Memory*, *Meaning*, *Iconography*, and *School Ethos* as these topics also represent the principal areas of scholarship studied.

### *Memorials and Memory*

Harking back to the precis of Chapter Three,<sup>37</sup> Pierre Nora saw all memorials, such as those to be discussed in the following chapters, as repositories of memory. In agreement with the idea that these remembrance objects have become symbolic components of a memorial heritage, this section will discuss memorials and the memory they represent as a single topic. As already noted, Ashplant, Dawson and Roper, writing in 2000, argued that there was a proliferation of public interest in war memory and indeed several authors have addressed the topic.<sup>38</sup> Yet the memory which they discuss is not monolithic in the sense of being undifferentiated. Bill Nasson speaks of national, political and public memory;<sup>39</sup> Elaine McFarland of a need to

<sup>37</sup> Pages 20/21.

<sup>38</sup> Page 5.

<sup>39</sup> Nasson, B., (2000) 'The South African War/Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902 And Political Memory In South Africa' in Ashplant, T.G., Dawson, G., and Roper, M., (eds.,) (2000) *The Politics Of War Memory And Commemoration*, London: Routledge.

explore its plurality and the nature of collective memory.<sup>40</sup> Geoffrey Cubitt explores collective, personal and societal memory.<sup>41</sup> Graham Dawson writes of public memories issuing from the state.<sup>42</sup> Bob Bushaway contends that Great War memory has entered a category of its own by assuming a special, supranational and sacred quality,<sup>43</sup> whilst John Tosh writes under the memory headings of collective, public, identity and social.<sup>44</sup>

Memory, then, comes in divergent forms and, according to Stefan Goebel, has ‘different meanings to different authors’.<sup>45</sup> In an attempt to pin down its concept, by thinking of it as an object, Cubitt provides the interesting comparison to a chemical element – always appearing in a mixed, rather than in a pure, condition. The mixtures in which memory might appear are learning, perception, an awareness of time and place, a sense of identity and selfhood, narration, and tradition. The particular memory categories relevant to the present discussion are social and collective and the particular elements included in a school mix of commemoration are identity, narration and tradition.

Memorialisation in schools *was*, of course, a collective experience, the remnants of which can still be felt in the *lieux* which the memorial builders created. Even twenty-

<sup>40</sup> McFarland, E.W., (2010) ‘Commemoration Of The South African War In Scotland, 1900-10’ in *Scottish Historical Review*, October 2010, vol.89, issue 2, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>41</sup> Cubitt, G., (2007) *History And Memory*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. p.49.

<sup>42</sup> Dawson, G., (1994) *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire And The Imagining Of Masculinities*, London: Routledge.

<sup>43</sup> Bushaway, B., (1992) ‘Name Upon Name: The Great War And Remembrance’ in Porter, R., (1992) *Myths Of The English*, Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers.

<sup>44</sup> Tosh, J., (2002) *The Pursuit Of History: Aims, Methods And New Directions In The Study Of Modern History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited and Tosh, J., (2008) *Why History Matters*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>45</sup> Goebel, S., (2007) *The Great War And Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism In Britain and Germany, 1914-1940*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.14.

first-century children being educated at many of today's phrontisteries regularly pass by, or through, memorials to the war dead. These sites of remembrance have been successfully woven into the fabric of many educational establishments as well as into the memory of those living who, because of memorial placement, cannot help but remember those who died. Identity with the memorials has become part and parcel of the school memory itself. Commemoration days draw out a social recollection of how school alumni reacted to war and they promote a common belief that sacrifices were made for the greater good. School magazines also act as storehouses of memory and many of the institutions to be shortly considered produced them on a regular basis; also circulating the results to other schools. Accounts of heroism, sporting or academic achievement and devotion to duty are common and one of the reasons to circulate was obviously for their usefulness as instruments of propaganda. Such publications and the memorials to be discussed serve to underpin a belief that schools produced men of heroic quality and thus promote the identity which the institutions wished, still wish, to convey. In addition to traditional memorials and magazines, memory is to be found in unconventional objects and additionally in concepts and events. Nora saw memory as giving rise to commemoration and remembrance wherever it crystallized and secreted itself. In support of this contention he mentions objects and ideas as diverse as the Eiffel Tower, the French language, the funeral of Victor Hugo, and the French motto of Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Alex

<sup>46</sup> Nora, P., (1996) 'From Lieux De Mémoire To Realms Of Memory' in Kritzman, L.D., (ed.) under the direction of Pierre Nora, (1996) *Realms Of Memory: Rethinking The French Past, Vol.1, Conflicts And Divisions*, translated by Arthur Goldhammar, New York: Columbia University Press; Nora, P., (1997) 'Introduction to Realms of Memory Volume II' in Kritzman, L.D., (ed.) under the direction of Pierre Nora, (1997) *Realms Of Memory: The Construction Of The French Past, Vol.2, Traditions*, translated by Arthur Goldhammar, New York: Columbia University Press; Nora, P., (1998) 'Introduction to Realms of Memory Volume III' in Kritzman, L.D., (ed.) under the direction of Pierre Nora, (1998) *Realms Of Memory: The Construction Of The French Past, Vol.3, Symbols*, translated by Arthur Goldhammar, New York: Columbia University Press.

King found commemoration memory in bus shelters and park benches, bowling greens and scholarships, electric lighting for villages and water for a school.<sup>47</sup> Some rather bizarre suggestions for commemoration, and therefore a means of containing memory, have been the possibility of a donation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to help pay off the national debt,<sup>48</sup> and the notion of an Irish Channel Tunnel.<sup>49</sup> Unusual commemorative schemes have also been found in the course of this investigation and they will be discussed as footnoted below.<sup>50</sup>

It should be mentioned at this stage that Nora makes an interesting distinction between memory and history claiming the two to be in fundamental opposition to each other. He sees memory as being collectively remembered values; 'the remnants of experience still lived in the warmth of tradition and in the silence of custom'.<sup>51</sup> On the opposite hand, he views history as reconstruction; nothing more than sifted and sorted historical traces. Memory, Nora accordingly argues, has been conquered and destroyed by history, as the latter has become a social science whilst the former has retreated from being a collective, pooled, experience to one which is individual and sectional. John Tosh, writing twenty years after Nora, comments that formal historical knowledge has traditionally been presented as the antithesis of collective memory. He nevertheless believes that this process has been, at worst, paused, at best, reversed, and he advances the growth in identity history and the investigation of collective memory as the rationale.

<sup>47</sup> King, A., (1998) *Memorials Of The Great War In Britain, The Symbolism And Politics Of Remembrance*, Oxford: Berg.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Bushaway, 'Name Upon Name'

<sup>50</sup> Chapter One, *Traditions of Memorialisation*, pages 78/79.

<sup>51</sup> Nora, P., (1989) 'Between Memory And History: *Les Lieux De Mémoire*' in *Representation*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory And Counter-Memory (Spring, 1989). California: University of California Press.p.7.

No such conflict exists between the history of Victorian/Edwardian school memorials and the memories they embody because the social and collective memory remains strong enough to keep their message intact, irrespective of any investigation of their past. In fact, schools encountered in this study have welcomed previously unknown historical discoveries, such as an additional name to be memorialised in the case of St. Edmund's, Ware,<sup>52</sup> and the existence of a secret compartment in the memorial at St. Olave's, Orpington.

Jay Winter sets out to analyse those private and public sites of mourning and memory which relate to WWI and which, he contends, provide a means of forgetting as well as of remembering.<sup>53</sup> His study draws evidence from, primarily, Britain, France and Germany and he looks for the language of mourning in literature, theatre, art, poetry, film and even religious and secular spiritualism. Winter also, of course, finds evidence of that language in the various physical commemorative objects of metal, marble and stone which ubiquitously appear throughout the countries studied. He draws a distinction between telling the story of war in a new language of cynicism, disillusionment, betrayal and doubtfulness, found in some poetry, prose and the visual arts, as against messages conveyed by classical, romantic and religious images, labelling the two groups *modernist* and *traditional* respectively. He argues that modernist memory is able to express anger, despair and melancholy but only the traditional ways of commemorating war can produce a healing process. Winter views war memorials, prime examples of traditional memory, as collective symbols which speak to and for communities. He asks what, or whom, they commemorate and what,

<sup>52</sup> Chapter Five, *Unveiling Ceremonies*, page 249.

<sup>53</sup> Winter, J., (1995) *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



precisely, they ask be remembered, although he concludes that these questions have no single answers.

Insofar as this study of schools is concerned the answers to those last questions are very clear. In relation to the first, schools were commemorating what they perceived as self-immolation by heroic members of their community who had gone to war in defence of those high ideals for which their school stood. In relation to the second question, the memorials they placed, or erected, asked that such sacrifice be remembered and duplicated in circumstances where school and country values and security might be at future risk.

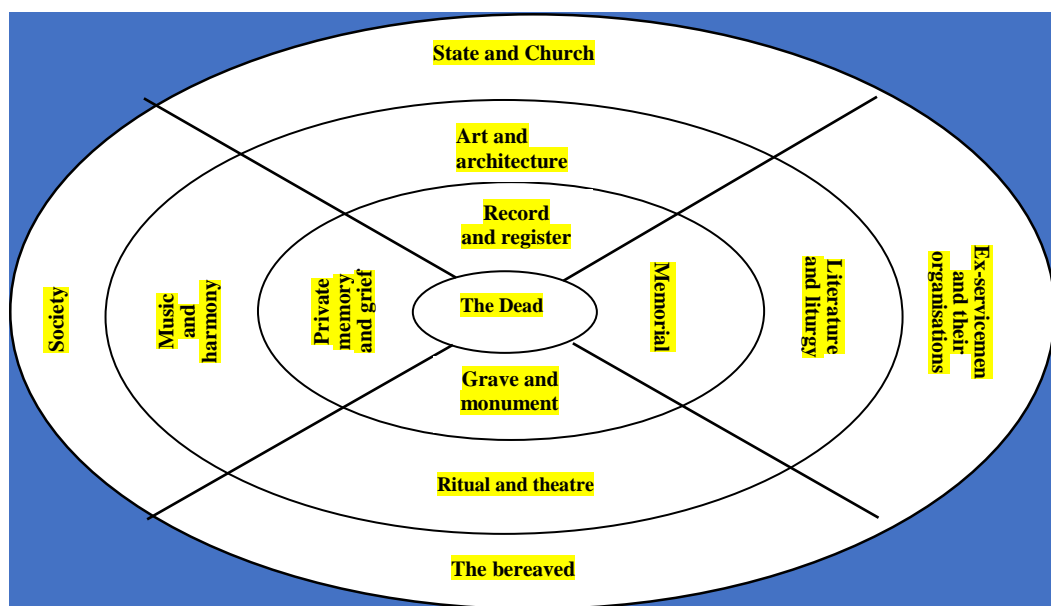
To be sure, school memorials probably did help the bereaved forget, as well as remember, and the traditional forms adopted may have assisted the healing process. Nevertheless, the schools' intention was to *preserve* memory and to use traditional forms for impact, retention and reinforcement. Winter concentrates on WWI memorials as centres for ritual, rhetoric and ceremony; built as places of mourning and congregation. He, in company with Cubitt, concedes that meaning has changed over time and that now, when the moment of initial grieving has long passed, ritual significance has given way to political symbolism. School memorials, particularly those commissioned in response to the Boer War, were intended to be symbolic from the very start and to hold within them a particular memory and meaning. Winter contends that 'the search for the "meaning" of the Great War began as soon as the war itself' and that for some people it still continues.<sup>54</sup> The meaning of school memorials, repositories of a particular version of death, is apparent. The meaning of WWI, and

<sup>54</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 78.

for that matter all other wars, Boer War included, has indeed changed over time and will probably continue to do so. The coming section will leave memory behind and discuss the subject of meaning. It will briefly touch on the changing understanding of the Great War but concentrate on meaning in memorials generally. In doing so, it will provide background context and support the argument that meaning in school memorials has remained constant.

### *Meaning*

Memorialisation, as it moved into the twentieth century, had become a complex business as demonstrated in the following graphic compiled by Bob Bushaway.<sup>55</sup> Bushaway's chart was drawn in relation to WWI and it visually represents the



memorial committees, veterans, families, artists and state/church which Stefan Goebel also identifies as being the five main players in Great War remembrance.<sup>56</sup> The graphic can be equally applied to Boer War commemoration and, if *State & Church* and *Ex-servicemen & their Organisations* are substituted by *Headmasters &*

<sup>55</sup> Bushaway, 'Name Upon Name', p.159.

<sup>56</sup> Goebel, *Great War And Medieval Memory*.

*Governing Bodies* and *Old Boys* respectively, it applies to schools as well. Bushaway saw considerable meaning in remembrance and he mentions it acting as a rite of passage to conduct society through the ending of war to the beginning of peace. In his view, it reincorporated returning servicemen into society; reaffirmed social values; emphasised equality of loss and offered a vision for the future. He also detects changes in definition during, even the chronologically short span of, WWI. Specific war aims, for example defence of Belgian neutrality, became world peace; service and duty became sacrifice; casualties became the glorious dead, battlefields became sacred ground and the defeat of Germany became the defeat of war. Timothy Ashplant also mentions change in memorial meaning, moving from militaristic triumph, through redemptive sacrifice, to sacrificial victory over militarism, and all in the space of just twenty years.<sup>57</sup>

Dedication procedures, observes Elaine McFarland, were designed to give memorials meaning. Municipal authorities were keen to ensure both active participation, from a wide range of local constituencies, and strong spectator support – the aim being to create a shared symbolic act during which the sacrifice of the dead imposed duties upon the living.<sup>58</sup> McFarland maintains that, for the same reason, prominent civic sites were selected and notes that those at Falkirk, Dumbarton and Alloa were all closely juxtaposed to the council chambers. The positioning of memorials in schools was considered important too. Chapels were an obvious choice, but stair-landings,

<sup>57</sup> Ashplant, T. G., (2000) 'War Commemoration In Western Europe: Changing Meanings, Divisive Loyalties, Unheard Voices', in Ashplant, T.G., Dawson, G., and Roper, M., (eds.), (2000) *The Politics Of War Memory And Commemoration*, London: Routledge.

<sup>58</sup> McFarland, E.W., (2010) 'Commemoration Of The South African War In Scotland, 1900-10' in *Scottish Historical Review*, October 2010, vol.89, issue 2, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

dining-rooms and routes to and from frequently used areas of the school were also chosen to maximise exposure to future generations of boys.<sup>59</sup>

Perhaps the best examples of change in message are those which occur over long periods of time. Bill Nasson takes as his theme the Anglo-Boer War and looks at the development of commemoration in South Africa.<sup>60</sup> He notes that the way in which changing historical context affects how war is remembered has, perhaps, never been more obvious than in his native country at the close of the twentieth century. Nasson declares that, at the time of Victorian hostilities, many imperialist writers depicted the Boer as a degraded rural layabout, playing a part in a criminal war against civilizing progress. Commemoration provided an early opportunity to create an image of that same individual as being engaged in a legitimate struggle against overwhelming odds. As the century following the confrontation wore on, the factors surrounding commemoration in South Africa changed its meaning. The initial adjustment was through a broadening of remembrance following the two world wars. Then followed the apartheid period, when white supremacy was maintained, and later still the 1990s, when glimmers of an antique past expressed the resentment and frustration of a European settlers' world in decline. The community which had been involved in the conflict were no longer special, no longer privileged, and the country's black, enfranchised majority viewed the three-year-long Anglo-Boer engagement as nothing more than a white man's war. Nasson sees the future for that conflict's memorials in South Africa as either reminders of how a past society viewed the 1899-1902 episode or else as pointers to a remote chapter from a vanished age.

<sup>59</sup> For example, the stair-landing at Stonyhurst, the dining-room at Beaumont, and the gateway at Winchester Colleges.

<sup>60</sup> Nasson, B., (2000) 'The South African War'

Such intense change does not happen within schools. Llechryd C.P. School erected a plaque to commemorate eight former pupils who died in WWI. The names of a further five who died in WWII were later added and later again a single name to commemorate a death in the Falklands Conflict of 1982.<sup>61</sup> At Rotherham Grammar School a Gothic Cross was unveiled by a former headmaster on Thursday 19<sup>th</sup> February 1925 to the memory of fifty-seven old boys who had lost their lives in the Great War. The Archbishop of York, in dedicating the Cross, said that it would be a great thing ‘if it became a tradition ... for every boy, when passing it, to bare his head and remember that he belonged to a school of which those gallant men were members’.<sup>62</sup> The archbishop later exhorted his audience to regard ‘this abiding shrine as a sacred trust’.<sup>63</sup> Further names were later added to commemorate those alumni who had died in WWII and the Falklands Conflict. The messages contained in the plaque at Llechryd and the cross at Rotherham remain the same and their prominent positions within the Llechryd school and the Rotherham grounds ensure that they still function as abiding reminders of those who lost their lives in war. Continuity, not change, is the theme.

Remembrance in Ireland, as Jane Leonard remarks, was made difficult by the fact that there were Irish casualties on either side in both the Spanish Civil and Boer Wars.<sup>64</sup> The country’s complications are also acknowledged by Ashplant who points out that there was considerable official hostility to WWI commemoration, particularly between the wars, as well as in the 1970s and 80s. Nevertheless, Ashplant adds, with the change

<sup>61</sup> Imperial War Museums reference WMR-70387.

<sup>62</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* – Friday 20 February 1925.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Leonard, J., (1996) *The Culture Of Commemoration: The Culture Of War Commemoration*, Belfast: Cultures of Ireland.

in political climate at the end of the twentieth century, the Irish state was able to give due recognition to its Great War victims. Meaning in Ireland had travelled a long way from the time when nationalistic statues in the Republic might be deliberately positioned in border villages to glare across the border into the North.

School evidence found during the course of this study confirms a change in Irish attitude to war commemoration. At Blackrock College, founded by the Holy Ghost Fathers (a Roman Catholic congregation of priests) students were ‘almost entirely pro-Boer’: no memorial was erected to those that died and no discussion of a possible memorial took place.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, the College now produces an information sheet which gives biographical details against eight alumni who fought in the war. Only two died, one of whom, Jack Cunningham, left Blackrock to attend St. Edmund’s Ware, and is one of the persons later commemorated at that location – a development in which Blackrock have been most interested. The College was therefore quite happy to forget these individuals at the beginning of the twentieth century but very keen to remember them by the end.

Writers such as Leonard and Ashplant prompt the realisation that memorialisation of war, in at least England and Wales, during the timeframe under discussion, was generally unproblematic, but that the same did not, necessarily, hold elsewhere. Unproblematic commemoration could be, mostly, said of Scotland, although McFarland makes a couple of points specific to that territory. Scottish regiments found the Boer War a particularly bruising conflict and designers of memorials

<sup>65</sup> Mullan, C. (archives@blackrockcollege.com), 2012. *Message from Website*. 8 May. Email to: Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

commemorating their dead were faced with the tasks of restoring regimental reputation and renegotiating their partnership with civil society, in the shadow of the contribution made by volunteers. Against this background resultant designs rejected triumphalism and, generally speaking, the female allegorical figures found on many English memorials of the time. In their place appeared representations of local soldiers who had served and sacrificed on behalf of their community: representations which affirmed that these individuals had proved worthy of their brigade's traditions and demonstrated the continued vitality of individual regiments. McFarland additionally detects, in smaller communities, problems in fund raising with the result that designers had to mediate between, durability, visibility and cost, in order to balance aesthetic ambitions with technical realities. Schools have been found to have experienced similar funding difficulties, but to a much lesser extent than in the Scottish communities investigated by McFarland. Only in rare instances did a lack of funds prevent intended schemes from proceeding.

Meaning can also act as a reflection of the public mood. Chapter One will spend some time discussing a Boer War memorial erected by the Royal Artillery at the corner of Horse Guards Parade and The Mall, in London. It comprises a winged figure of Peace controlling a restless horse, representing the Spirit of War, and it was unveiled on Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> July 1910. The Artillery's next memorial, that for the Great War, was erected at Hyde Park Corner, London, and it features a huge sculpture of a 9.2-inch Howitzer in stone. Four artillery men, cast in bronze, surround the Howitzer, three of them are upright and alive whilst the fourth lies dead, covered by a greatcoat upon which rests his helmet. That memorial was unveiled on Sunday 18<sup>th</sup> October 1925. The two remembrance pieces are physically about two miles apart but, as Bushaway

observes, they are otherwise separated from each other by fifteen years and fifty-thousand war dead. The first could be said to provide moral guidance for the living, whilst the message of the second is clearly remembrance of the dead. They reflect the fact that the scale and purpose of each war was very different. Bushaway feels that the interpretation that the actions of the dead contributed toward a higher purpose than simply victory and defeat, had the useful advantage of holding in check any development of popular socio-political criticisms of post-WWI-war conditions. Some other writers, however, take a different view and see the war as a force for right-wing nationalism, whilst for Adrian Gregory it just resulted in civic minded patriotic pacifism. Meaning in schools also reflected the mood – triumphant after the South African War and reflective following WWI.

A word should be said, to end this section, about the messages conveyed by the two, probably, best known British war memorials – the Cenotaph, in Whitehall, London, and the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey. Each is an apparent contradiction of the other, but the difference is explained by Richard Jenkyns.<sup>66</sup> The word Cenotaph derives from the Greek words κενός, meaning empty, and τάφος, meaning tomb, and it represents the noble army of the dead as a whole. The Unknown Warrior is everyone's imaginary son, brother, father, or friend. The Cenotaph is therefore a symbol of the nation's memory of all who died in the Great War, whereas the grave of the Unknown represents the individual memory of the average of those men. As an additional insinuation, the Cenotaph, being empty, conveys a promise of resurrection, whereas the tomb of the Unknown, being full, conveys no such promise.

<sup>66</sup> Jenkyns, R., (2004) *Wonders Of The World: Westminster Abbey*, London: Profile Books Ltd.



Insofar as school memorials are concerned, all express, either explicitly or implicitly, the promise of a life after death.

### *Iconography*

A recurring theme in the memorials to be discussed is the figure of St. George, patron saint of England and of soldiers. The legend of St. George will be discussed in Chapter Four,<sup>67</sup> and his portrayal in many memorials during Chapter Six.<sup>68</sup> This present section will examine the work of Stefan Goebel to provide a background reason for the popularity of St. George in school memorial art. Goebel's study is of the memorialisation of WWI in both Britain and Germany. Goebel contends that memorial makers in both countries gazed backward to what he terms 'misty ... times', to meet the existential needs of meaning and symbolism, and he contends that they found answers in the well-established brand of medievalism.<sup>69</sup> Toward the end of his work, Goebel briefly discusses memorialisation in the aftermath of WWII. In doing so he argues that, because there was no historical precedent to 'genocidal war, the mass bombing of civilians and the uprooting of millions of refugees', memorial makers of that time were unable to find a link with the past.<sup>70</sup> He therefore sees medievalism as occurring in just the inter-war period. It will actually be found, in this thesis, to occur well before that interval but the reasons for its appearance are the same as set out by Goebel.

<sup>67</sup> Pages 200/201.

<sup>68</sup> Pages 328/332.

<sup>69</sup> Goebel, S., (2007) *The Great War And Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism In and Germany, 1914-1940*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.286.

<sup>70</sup> Goebel, *The Great War*, 291.

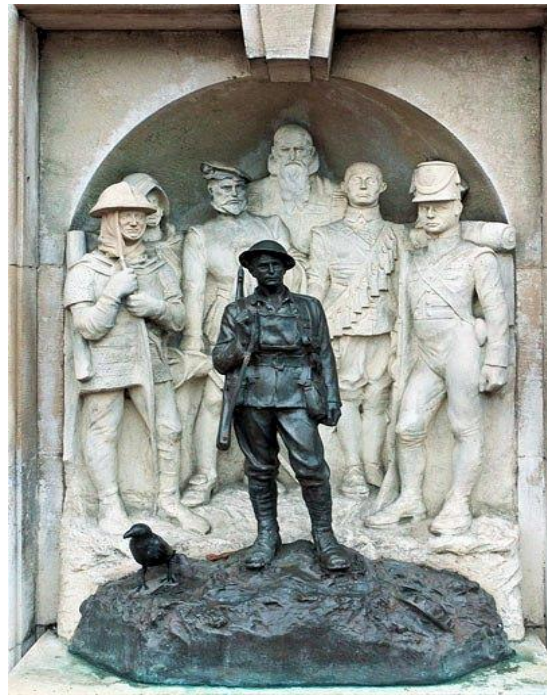
The use of the definite article and a particular adjective to describe WWI as *The Great War* imbues the phrase with significance to define it as a watershed moment. It is a phrase interestingly paralleled in German as ‘der große Krieg’, to produce a similar effect. Goebel argues that in describing the Great War in these terms a mood developed to understand it as an episode in a continuing history of sacrifice to preserve the essence of England. That history dated back to the Middle Ages and imagery from the time was consequently thought appropriate to help commemorate the 1914-18 conflict. The second Boer War was also a turning point and momentous enough in its own time. Britain had been unprepared for war and unused to suffering a high level of casualties in its prosecution. It is argued here, therefore, that the very conditions which Goebel identifies as being present at the end of WWI were also to be found following the Peace of Vereeniging in May 1902.<sup>71</sup> Medievalism in commemorative art, certainly in schools, was the response from memorial makers in the first decade of the twentieth century. Goebel explains that WWI memorials established a nexus between the catastrophe of war and historical continuity with the result that mourners could feel certain that whatever the circumstances of their loved one’s death their place in history was assured.

This concept is strikingly illustrated in a memorial, shown overleaf, to the men of Royston, Hertfordshire, 116 of whom fell in the Great War. In the centre of the memorial, standing on rough ground, is a typical British ‘tommy’,<sup>72</sup> cast in bronze. At the back centre, sculpted in white stone, stands Royston-born theologian Thomas Cartright. Between Cartright and the tommy, also in white stone, and therefore

<sup>71</sup> Common name for the peace treaty which ended the war between the South African Republics of Transvaal & Orange Free State and the United Kingdom.

<sup>72</sup> An abbreviation of Tommy Atkins, a generic name for the common British soldier.

appearing as ghostly images, are a bowman of Agincourt, a Cromwellian Ironside, soldiers of the Napoleonic wars and of King George II, plus a medieval knight. Tommy therefore takes his place amongst other men of Royston who have, in the past, nobly represented their town. The overall image connects memory in the present to cultural memory.<sup>73</sup>

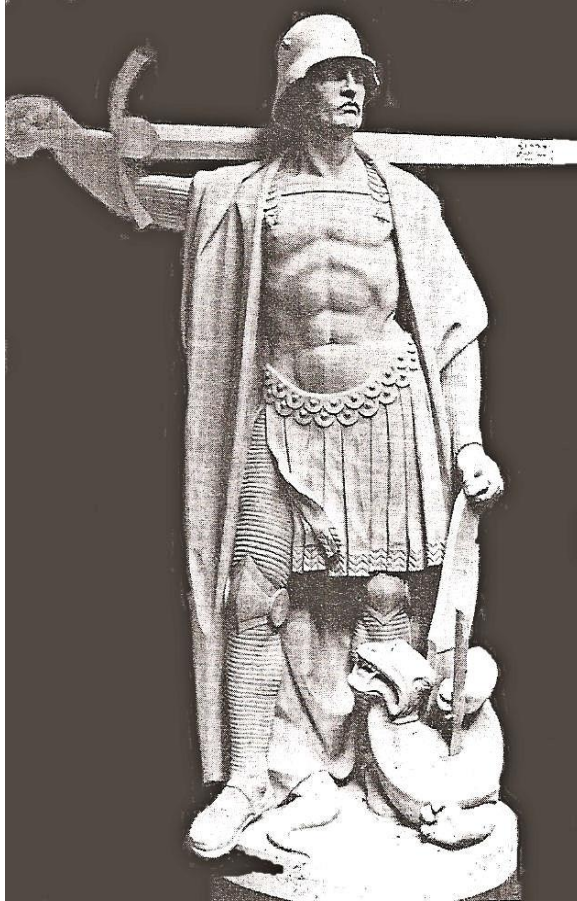


The use of St. George, and some other warrior saints, in school memorialisation had the similar effect of linking two separate time periods. Courage, chivalry and victory in the present are aligned with an instantly recognisable champion of those qualities in the past. The only difference is that Goebel saw medievalism as providing meaning to relatives whereas in the examples given in the following chapters it gave meaning to school communities. Goebel's is a comparative study focusing on Britain and Germany and he finds 'very similar commemorative paths [in each territory] to ascribe historical meaning to the collective slaughter of 1914-18'.<sup>74</sup> Of particular interest to

<sup>73</sup> Memorial at Trinity and Prior Church, Royston, Herts. Copyright cleared image available: Wikimedia Commons

<sup>74</sup> Goebel, *The Great War*, 291.

this present investigation is his example of a statue reminiscent of St. George found in the minster church at Weingarten in Württemberg, sourced from Goebel's publication and reproduced below.<sup>75</sup>



This icon wears a steel helmet, of the type introduced by the Imperial German Army in 1916, together with a version of the skirt worn by Roman centurions. His leggings are of chain mail and he is bare-chested. It acts as a reminder that such images are not exclusively seen on British memorials and that artists may tailor them to suit their own particular audiences.<sup>76</sup> It is shown for comparison with those images on the cover-page of Chapter Five and on page 330 of Chapter Six. The thesis will show that the imagery, and to some extent the language, of medievalism was being used in commemoration well before 1914. In fact, Goebel himself interestingly points out that

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>76</sup> Goebel, *The Great War*, 137.

in July of that year, on the eve of hostilities, Kaiser Wilhelm II told a crowd that had gathered outside his Berlin palace that ‘the enemy challenge forced him to “draw the sword”’.<sup>77</sup> In a speech delivered in London some four months later Prime Minister Asquith told his audience ‘we shall not sheathe the sword until Belgium recovers all, and more than all, she has sacrificed’.<sup>78</sup> Both men recognised the power of medieval language in their rhetoric, just as memorial makers had recognised it, following the Boer War, in their choice of artwork.

On that subject of language, it is interesting to note that in France memorials often carry the inscription *Mort pour la France* (*Dead for France*).<sup>79</sup> In Germany, the similar *Für das Vaterland Gefallen* (*Died for the Fatherland*) is common. Whilst *They died for England* could, in theory, be a perfectly acceptable epitaph in Britain, no such examples have been found. Many schools took language from much further back in time and inscribed their memorials *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* – a phrase coined by Horace, the leading Roman lyric poet. It was later to become associated with disillusionment and that aspect of the phrase, and its translation, will be discussed on pages forty-nine/fifty.

Adrian Gregory attributes the reason for a difference in memorial wording to the absence of an abstract nationhood in Britain and comments that, in practice, the temptation to mention honour, duty, God, sacrifice, or immortal memory, was rarely overcome.<sup>80</sup> Medievalism in design was therefore widespread during the period

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 81

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Prost, A., (1997) 'Monuments To The Dead' in Kritzman, L.D., (ed.), under the direction of Pierre Nora, *Realms Of Memory: The Construction Of The French Past, Vol.2, Traditions*, translated by Arthur Goldhammar, New York: Columbia University Press.

<sup>80</sup> Gregory, A., (1994) *The Silence Of Memory: Armistice Day 1919-1946*, Oxford: Berg Publishers.

investigated but memorial language reflected local tradition. In addition to help place the understanding of war, medievalism suited those who commissioned school memorials because it reflected the ethos of the public/private school. The language of *dulce et decorum* also suited their spirit and character and it is to that general subject of ethos this *Introduction* Chapter will now turn.

### *School Ethos*

A number of authors have provided background material against which to understand the ethos, both military and educational, of the schools covered by this study. William Reader observes that the South African War broke out in ‘an explosion of enthusiasm’ and it resulted in men, particularly men of high social standing, being willing to volunteer for active service.<sup>81</sup> Reader also reports that military authorities were unused to this phenomenon and did not much care for it, preferring instead that recruits would join as regular soldiers for a long period of engagement. During the week running from Sunday 10<sup>th</sup> December 1899 to Saturday 16<sup>th</sup> December the British Army suffered major defeats at the battles of Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso, and many men were killed, wounded, or captured. *The Times* dubbed the period ‘black week’ and in the days which followed many more volunteers for active service came forward.<sup>82</sup> It is important to realise that this was something new. Previous wars had been fought by regular troops and it was understood that men who had chosen civilian occupations would stay at home and not be expected to become involved. Even during the Boer War, as Reader points out, men who served were generally admired, but those

<sup>81</sup> Reader, W.J., (1988) *At Duty's Call: A study in Obsolete Patriotism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. p.11.

<sup>82</sup> OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT., and OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT. "Embarcation Of Troops." *Times* [London, England] 24 Feb. 1900: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 14 Apr. 2017.

who chose not to volunteer were not criticised or made to feel ashamed. The volunteers represented an attitude which would become far stronger in the years ahead and result in huge numbers offering themselves for service at the beginning of WWI. By the time of the Great War ‘military issues were [being] frequently debated at school societies’, whilst Edmund Warre, headmaster at Eton, had, in the aftermath of the Boer conflict, been campaigning for ‘some form of military training’ within all schools.<sup>83</sup> Both Reader and Peter Parker comment on military ethos in schools and between them they supply two good reasons for its existence. Parker comments that ‘long before the British Public at large had been fired with a faith in the British Empire, one and indivisible, that was the faith in which every public-school boy was reared’.<sup>84</sup>

It is easy to see that with such sentiment being so pronounced in schools it inevitably followed that, in the minds of both masters and pupils, any attack on imperialism or patriotism should be fiercely resisted. Military force was likely to be the resistance required and it could only be successfully brought about by preparedness. On a practical level, Reader, in providing the second good reason for military ethos, observes that most boys needed to find, on leaving school, a well-paid, pensionable, career which offered security and high social standing. Many found these requirements, he comments, ‘in governing the Empire or in officering the army’.<sup>85</sup> Military training had the advantage of providing boys with the skills required to enter either of these career paths. Soldierly activities could also provide competition between schools and thus foster a schoolboy’s attachment to his community.

<sup>83</sup> Parker, P., (1987) *The Old Lie: The Great War And The Public School Ethos*, London: Constable and Company Limited. p.61.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p.61.

<sup>85</sup> Reader, *At Duty's Call*, 86.



Cadet corps and rifle-shooting teams engaged each other in inter-school competitions. 'Smartness' and 'military efficiency', comments Honey, 'affected the reputation of the schools'.<sup>86</sup> Wellington, Cheltenham and Clifton, in the public/private sector, together with Royal Hibernian and Gordon Boys', in the private, plainly concentrated on supplying boys to the army. Most of the other schools in this study would be covered by Reader's remark that they 'served to some extent as military academies and from the 1850s onward many began to glory in the fact by putting up war memorials'.<sup>87</sup> The erection of memorials gave schools an opportunity to demonstrate that past pupils had sacrificed their lives in defence of country, empire and the values of loyalty and duty for which their place of education stood. Once complete, a person of some standing in the community would be invited to unveil the memorial and at that stage a further opportunity, this time to endorse the school and its methods, would be presented.

Even more important than the military ethos was an ability for schools, particularly those in the public/private group, to turn out individuals who would be regarded gentlemen. Honey describes the main concerns of Thomas Arnold, sometime headmaster at Rugby School as ecclesiastical, political and social rather than educational. Edward Mack comments that Arnold looked, firstly, for religious and moral principle, secondly, for gentlemanly conduct and, thirdly, for intellectual ability.<sup>88</sup> At other schools, many modelled on the system which Arnold developed at

<sup>86</sup> Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, 259.

<sup>87</sup> Reader, *At Duty's Call*, 90. Many schools had a Cadet Corps by the time of the Boer War (Chapter Five, *Unveiling Ceremonies*, pp.266-267) and several more were established in the war's wake (Chapter Five, p.285)

<sup>88</sup> Mack, E.C., (1938) *Public Schools And British Opinion, 1780 to 1860: An Examination Of The Relationship Between Contemporary Ideas And The Evolution Of An English Institution*, London: Methuen & Co Ltd.



Rugby, education was also not the only attribute, in many cases not even the main attribute, expected to result from a boy's time at school. 'Character-building was far more important than intellectual training', declares Reader, 'and in building character team games had a sovereign, almost mystical virtue'.<sup>89</sup>

The Clarendon Commission agreed that the schools they had examined had a 'love of healthy sports'; instilled in their pupils a 'capacity to govern others and control themselves' and gave them 'vigour and manliness of character'.<sup>90</sup> The commission additionally reported that the schools had perhaps 'the largest share in moulding the character of an English gentleman'.<sup>91</sup> It is not altogether surprising that Clarendon's six commissioners should have given such a report, five of them having attended four of the schools (Westminster, Eton, Rugby and Winchester) covered by their investigations. Parker considers the summary of their findings 'an admirably concise checklist of the elements that went to make up the public-school ethos in the 1860s'.<sup>92</sup> Clarendon, Reader and Parker all mention games and the most important would become cricket. Parker contends that school matches were 'reported in the press in the same depth as international fixtures' and comments that 'it is difficult to determine exactly when games became invested with spiritual qualities'.<sup>93</sup> Cheryl Trafford comments that nobility of character was fashioned, at Clifton, not only in the Chapel but on The Close, the College name for its sports fields.<sup>94</sup> Evidence of the strong

<sup>89</sup> Reader, *At Duty's Call*, 97.

<sup>90</sup> U.K. Parliamentary Papers, Royal Com. to inquire into Revenues and Management of certain Colleges and Schools, Studies and Instruction. Volume I. Report; Volume II. Appendix; Volume III. Minutes of Evidence, Part I. (Eton, Winchester and Westminster); Volume IV. Minutes of Evidence, Part II. (Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby, etc.). p.56.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Parker, *The Old Lie*, 42.

<sup>93</sup> Parker, *The Old Lie*, 80-81.

<sup>94</sup> Trafford, C., (ed.) (2009) *The Best School Of All: 150 Years Of Clifton College*, London: Third Millennium Publishing Limited, a subsidiary of Third Millennium Information Limited.

interrelationship between cricket, war and school life can be found in the 1892 poem, *Vitae Lampada*, by Sir Henry Newbolt. Newbolt was educated at Clifton College and the second stanza of his powerful work appears below.

The sand of the desert is sodden red, -  
 Red with the wreck of a square that broke; -  
 The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel dead,  
 And the regiment blind with dust and smoke.  
 The river of death has brimmed his banks,  
 And England's far, and Honour a name,  
 But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks;  
 'Play up! play up! and play the game!'<sup>95</sup>

Parker, however, takes a cynical approach to school sporting activities, declaring them to be mere devices to release high spirits, which might otherwise be directed towards rebellion or sex. He takes as poor a view of prefects mistreating, and indiscriminately caning, their fags,<sup>96</sup> and labels them monsters of the schools' own creating: models for the character of the bully Flashman in Thomas Hughes' novel *Tom Brown's School Days*. The title of Parker's publication was inspired by *Dulce et Decorum Est*, a work in four unequal stanzas by Wilfred Owen, described as perhaps the first, certainly the quintessential, war poet.<sup>97</sup> The last two lines of Owen's composition read *The old Lie; Dulce et Decorum est pro patria mori* – the Latin content translating as *it is sweet and right to die for your country* and the first three words of the quotation being the title which Parker chose for his book. Owen's writings, composed against a background of experiences on the Somme, express a strong disillusionment with war and Parker

<sup>95</sup> In Winterbottom, D., (1991) *A Season's Fame: How A.E.J. Collins of Clifton College In 1899 Made Cricket's Highest Individual Score*, Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association The University, Bristol. p.19. The stanza refers to the Battle of Abu Klea, Sudan, which took place 16<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> January 1885. 'A square' is a formation used in combat and The Gatling was the forerunner of the modern machine gun.

<sup>96</sup> In public/private schools, juniors who perform certain duties for seniors.

<sup>97</sup> Jon Stallworthy, 'Owen, Wilfred Edward Salter (1893–1918)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37828>, accessed 1 Feb 2017].

comments that to be disillusioned it is necessary to have illusions in the first place. A major source of illusions, Parker contends, in the introduction section of his work, was the public-school system.

In the course of speeches researched for, and extensively quoted throughout, this thesis, praise is often heaped upon praise for a school and its methods of turning out young men considered to possess a wide variety of desirable characteristics. Parker penned his comments in 1987 and consequently had the benefit of long hindsight to form a sceptical view yet it seems not to have been at all widespread at the time. Honey advises that ‘critics of athleticism [for example] were not lacking’, but it had the support of boys together with many masters and parents. War itself was somewhat in question during the Boer conflict of 1899-1902 but, generally speaking, not during the Great War conflict of 1914-1918. Attitudes to war would change during the twentieth century but in the period covered by this thesis a strong sense of country and empire through military training and the playing of team games was the order of the day.

As for the classroom, Reader calculates that in the 1860s a boy at Rugby School spent almost 80% of his time studying classics with about 14% spent on mathematics and the rest on languages, chemistry and electricity. Even at the time of the Boer War classicism was still the foundation of public/private school education, ‘especially for the brighter boys’.<sup>98</sup> Honey contends that ‘the two themes emphasised in Victorian classical teaching were blind patriotism and the glorification of death in battle’.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Reader, *At Duty's Call*, 94.

<sup>99</sup> Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, 131.

General education took a back seat. The ethos developed on the parade grounds, in the classrooms, and on the playing fields was one which inspired young men to enthusiastically answer calls to defend their community, their country, their empire and their way of life.

### *Conclusion*

Public/private schools developed throughout the nineteenth century as places where memory was created and encouraged, and where stone, brick, glass, metal and wood all served to embody the ideas, concepts, notions and beliefs which would become inculcated in the minds of the generations of boys passing through their portals. The memorials, magazines and journals of many schools became storehouses for preserving a memory of the adventures and fates of past pupils and of the efforts taken to memorialise those lost in war. All of the institutions to be examined possessed space in which to house their memorial schemes and, in the majority of cases, adequate funds to realise them. Most of the memorials are still in existence together with a satisfactory range of sources, found both in schools and elsewhere, through which they may be studied. In consequence, schools particularly lend themselves to detailed research and analysis of those of their alumni who died in the second Boer War and the way in which they were remembered.

The historiography explored in this chapter serves to provide background thought on the nature, structure, origins and function of memorialisation in relation to the Boer and Great wars using examples from both home and abroad. An understanding of schools and their ethos has been gleaned from a variety of literary sources, a representative sample of which has been discussed in pages twenty-four through fifty-

one. The works examined explore the ways in which the perception and meaning of remembrance changed and variously give impressions of triumph, sacrifice, disenchantment and cynicism as being messages transmitted by memorials at different points in time. Memory is a central theme in these writings and described sometimes as a comfort, sometimes as a political tool, and occasionally as something either destroyed, or in danger of being destroyed, by history. Contrasting feelings of *belle époque*, and *fin de siècle* come through the literature reviewed. The first in the late-nineteenth-century classrooms and playing-fields of Britain's schools, at a time when empire was at its height and cricket of overriding importance; the second in the early-twentieth-century feeling that war marked the end of an era and that things would never be quite the same again.

Change inevitably occurs in the perception of memorials and the beginnings of that change, from symbols of triumph to celebrations of the glorious dead, will emerge during the course of the next six chapters. Awareness of the meaning of death in war also changed from worthwhile sacrifice in the 1900s to, for at least some survivors, futility in the 1920s. In order to provide context, changes in the meaning of memorials not directly covered by this thesis have needed to be understood. They have, generally speaking, been variously seen as places of ceremony, contributions to art, tributes to the dead, guides to the living, sites of congregation, pointers to a lost world, and emblems to help those who visited them remember, or forget. The language they employ, sometimes religious, sometimes secular, sometimes allegorical, sometimes literal, but always political, also changed over time as their messages shifted in the light of differing interpretations. Yet, at the time of their being brought into existence,

the memorial makers looked to the past in order to give the events they represented a recognisable place in a continuing historical thread.

Insofar as schools are concerned, meaning has remained more or less constant throughout the twentieth century and beyond. The memorials themselves, and the ceremonies surrounding their unveiling, were full of message and significance, most of which has been retained. They followed a general trend of employing traditional themes, but those concepts chimed well with school ethos and have therefore remained relevant. At some stage the question *What was it all for?* will have been asked and, apart from the glib response *Peace* the answer will still be found in actual, or perceived, school values and the remembrance which schools continue to afford their alumni dead.

This thesis will now explore the memorials and those they commemorate in detail. It will delve into the character and place in society of the men involved and explain why, and how, they came to be remembered in particular ways. In doing so it hopes to realise the ambitions set out at the beginning of this chapter, namely to help fill an existing research gap and complement, among others, the works discussed in the section headed *Historiography*.



# Chapter One

## *The Boer War within the Traditions of Memorialisation*



War medals sourced and compiled from copyright-cleared Images available:  
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## *Chapter One - The Boer War within the Traditions of Memorialisation*

### *Introduction*

Listing of the war dead and the commemoration of the dead combatants of modern society is not typical of the treatment that most societies have offered their war dead.<sup>1</sup>

Commemoration is not new, but it started at a point where war itself was the subject rather than those who fought, and died, in its prosecution. By the time of the Boer War a change had taken place and memorials were now commissioned to record the loss of individual lives, for a cause considered worth defending to the death. This chapter will discuss that change by briefly looking at the origins of memorialisation before undertaking an examination of nineteenth-century memorials erected prior to war in South Africa being declared on Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> October 1899. Armed conflicts in which the British army was involved during this century were labelled Mahratta, Peninsular, Napoleonic, Ashanti, Afghan, Burmese, Opium, Sikh, Māori, Crimean, Zulu, Egypt and Sudan, First Boer, and North-West Frontier of India. There was also a two-year-long rebellion in India, sometimes known as India's First War of Independence, and which J. David Singer and Melvin Small classify as a war under the label 'Sepoy'.<sup>2</sup> Memorials representing all of these hostilities have not been found but, following the background section, the chapter will consider such general evidence as does exist and concentrate on the Napoleonic and Crimean conflicts, these being representative of war in the early- and mid-nineteenth century. Evidence from that period's memorials in schools, even though somewhat sparse, will then be considered, and two case studies, which bring together memorial thinking as it was in the first

<sup>1</sup> Oliver, G., (2012) 'Naming The Dead, Writing The Individual: Classical Traditions And Commemorative Practices In The Nineteenth And Twentieth Centuries' in Low, P., Oliver, G., and Rhodes, P.J., (eds.) (2012) *Cultures Of Commemoration: War Memorials, Ancient And Modern*, Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy. p.113.

<sup>2</sup> Singer, J.D. and Small, M., (1972) *The Wages Of War 1816-1965: A Statistical Handbook*, London: John Wiley & Sons Inc.



decade of the twentieth century, presented. The chapter will then sum up memorialisation as it stood at the close of the second Boer War throughout the British Isles in general and the schools community in particular.

Apart from relevant literature, two main online memorial databases are available, each compiled with a different objective in mind. The *United Kingdom War Memorials Register*, assembled by the Imperial War Museum, states that memorials ‘form an important part of our cultural heritage’ and that they ‘reflect the changing face of commemoration as well as artistic, social, local, family, military and international history’.<sup>3</sup> The *Irish War Memorials Project*, on the other hand, describes its purpose as being ‘to make available, to family historians and relatives, the names of those recorded on war memorials’.<sup>4</sup> The *Register*, then, focuses on the memorials and the *Project* on the names, but both databases, between them, provide a comprehensive record of commemorative objects to be found throughout the whole of the British Isles. There is some overlap between the two organisations in that the *Register* includes Northern Ireland in its inventory whilst the *Project* hopes to list all memorials to be found on the island of Ireland. Both sources will be used extensively in the following sections and any duplication in the records has been taken into account in the presentation of statistical material.

The arguments in this chapter centre around the increasing recognition of the individual throughout the Victorian era. Civil registration together with the recording

<sup>3</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register* [Online], Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [November 2016-January 2017].

<sup>4</sup> *Irish War Memorials* [Online], Available <http://www.irishwarmemorials.ie/>, [November 2016 - January 2017].

of population, and its characteristics, ensured that s/he began, for the first time, to enter governmental records at regular intervals. As the era developed, poor performance in colonial uprisings and wars, coupled to concerns at home for the futures of Empire and the United Kingdom, dictated that the response of the ruling elite be supported by the individual in popular opinion. Conflict in South Africa appeared, at one stage, as if it could end, for Britain, in disastrous defeat, particularly as the country had been unprepared and the physical condition of much of its youth proved insufficient for purpose. On the Boer side, war was waged using the unfamiliar guerrilla tactics of harassment and sabotage, thus requiring a non-traditional response from the British forces. The commemorative result was to regard those who died as having willingly sacrificed themselves for the greater good. Particularly in schools, where the future leadership of country and empire was being educated, recognition of the individual and his commitment to the war, needed to result in the public display of modern commemorative practices.

### ***Background – Origins of Memorialisation***

Alison Cooley observes that ‘monuments commemorating war were a common sight in the Roman world’ but that those ‘drawing attention to the human cost’, by listing names, were ‘almost unknown’.<sup>5</sup> She asserts that this was not because the task was too difficult or due to a lack of concern for the dead. Records were kept which could have enabled the inclusion of all names, but Roman society ‘chose to end [episodes of war] on a triumphant note’ and ‘look forwards’ in an ‘attempt to win back the gods’ support [and thus] prevent future disasters’.<sup>6</sup> Alan Borg comes from the angle that the

<sup>5</sup> Cooley, A., (2012) ‘Commemorating The War Dead Of The Roman World’ in Low, P., Oliver, G., and Rhodes, P.J., (eds.) (2012) *Cultures Of Commemoration: War Memorials, Ancient And Modern*, Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy. p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p.85.

ancient portrayal of war was about power and contends that it was illustrated in two distinct ways – narrative, originally developed in Mesopotamia, and symbolic, first emerging in Egypt.<sup>7</sup> Possibly the best-known narrative of war is the 230-foot-long, and twenty-inch-wide, work known as the Bayeux Tapestry. The cloth is embroidered, rather than woven, so that it is technically not a tapestry at all: it has, nevertheless, been referred to by that name for most of its long existence. The Tapestry tells the story of the Norman conquest of England leading up to the Battle of Hastings fought 14<sup>th</sup> October 1066 (a Saturday in the Julian calendar but a Sunday in the, modern, Gregorian calendar), during which William, Duke of Normandy, defeated the English King, Harold II. This particular chronicle unfolds over several scenes in the Tapestry, but war narrative was to become a far less popular form of depiction as military engagements grew ever more complex. Rather than a single fighting force going into an isolated battle and emerging victorious, campaigns might involve several armies, engaged on a number of fronts, over a protracted period of time. In such circumstances, the most that could be expected from narrative became single scene episodes of the action. In addition, this kind of record tends to convey a vague, indistinct message and it lacks the immediate, and forceful, impact of commemorative forms and symbols, especially in cases where those symbols derive from classical mythology and are therefore instantly recognisable.

Symbolism, in the memorialisation of war, takes two forms – the constructional shape of the memorial itself and the statuary, decoration, figures, and images placed upon it, around it, or incorporated into its design. The three most common types of memorial

<sup>7</sup> Borg, A., (1991) *War Memorials From Antiquity To The Present*, London: Leo Cooper, an imprint of Pen & Sword Books Ltd. pp. 1-2.

which developed were Obelisk, Column and, of course, in more modern times, the Cross – either in its plain form or in the Celtic, or Latin, version. The O E D draws, what at first appears to be, a modest distinction between an obelisk and a column. It describes the former as 'a tapering, four-sided, usually monolithic pillar or column of stone with a pyramidal apex, set up as a monument or landmark'.<sup>8</sup> The latter is explained as 'a cylindrical or slightly tapering body of considerably greater length than diameter ... sometimes standing alone as a monument'.<sup>9</sup> The key difference, however, lies in the word *monolithic*. That single word leads Borg to conclude that obelisks, usually comprising single pieces of stone, are 'symbols of divine creation on earth' whereas columns, normally constructed by the assembly of separate pieces are 'more clearly an expression of man's mastery over his environment'.<sup>10</sup> Many columns came to be used as pedestals to support symbolic or heroic figures. The City of London's columnar monument to the Great Fire of 1666, for example, is topped with a gilt bronze urn which symbolises fire. At 202ft, the City claims it to be 'the tallest isolated stone column in the world'.<sup>11</sup> Only two-thirds the height of that memorial was the commemorative pillar built to provide a base for a statue of Viscount Nelson and erected in central Dublin in 1808 – over thirty years before a similar column appeared in London's Trafalgar Square. Nelson was one of Britain's most heroic figures and he features strongly in the memorials examined under the following heading.

<sup>8</sup> O E D [Online], Available: <http://www.oed.com/>, [Accessed 16 November 2016].

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Borg, A., (1991) *War Memorials From Antiquity To The Present*, London: Leo Cooper, an imprint of Pen & Sword Books Ltd. p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Hendershott, B.S. and Dale, A.S., (1996) *Mystery Reader's Walking Guide London*, Lincoln, NE, USA: iUniverse, Inc. p.13.

*Napoleonic and Peninsular Wars, 18<sup>th</sup> May 1803 - 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1815*

The *United Kingdom War Memorials Register* lists 348 memorials under its Napoleonic sub-heading but many of them were unveiled, dedicated, opened, consecrated, or presented either in the second half of the nineteenth century, or even in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, leaving just 254 which can be considered contemporary. Similarly, the *Irish War Memorials Project* lists five memorials only three of which are relevant. The total for discussion under this caption is therefore 257.

*The Napoleonic/Peninsular Memorials*

Only ten of the memorials can be said to be narrative. In the narrative area of flags and banners are included the Standard of the Loyal Yorkshire Dales' Volunteers, raised in response to the Napoleonic threat; the Colours of the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry; and the Union Jack flown by *H.M.S. Minotaur* at the battle of Trafalgar. In the narrative area of trophies and relics the items include a lychgate made from *H.M.S. Thunderer* timber; pikes, bugles, and swords of the Ecclesfield Regiment of Volunteers; and an oak toothpick box reputedly owned by Lady Hamilton. The balance of 247 memorials are all symbolic and they include obelisks, statuary, and even a peal of eight bells, each inscribed with the name of a victory in the Peninsular War. Just four items of statuary are allegorical – a seated Britannia being comforted by Immortality and a relief sculpture of Britannia and Victory, both at St. Paul's Cathedral, London; a mourning Angel seated on the barrel of a cannon, at Leeds Parish Church; and the Duke of Wellington, symbolically represented by Achilles, at the south-west end of Park Lane, London. Comprising the only listed example of the Cross is a Celtic version at Portsmouth, just the plinth of

which now remains. It was erected to commemorate 600 lives lost in the sinking of a seventy-four-gun warship, *H.M.S. Hero*, in 1811.<sup>12</sup> Just two of the memorials can be said to be of a utilitarian nature. The first, a memorial hall, was constructed at Burnham Thorpe, Nelson's birthplace and where his father, Edmund, was rector at the local church.<sup>13</sup> The second utility, described as 'memorial homes/almshouses', was built at Dunblane, Scotland, to commemorate Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, fatally wounded at the Battle of Corunna.<sup>14</sup> Utility memorials will feature more prominently later in the thesis but more popular choices for Napoleonic/Peninsular memorials were tablets and monuments in the form of pillars, columns, sculptures, etc., as demonstrated in the graphic below. By far the largest group is tablets, boards and plaques but this description is possibly a little misleading in that it perhaps brings to mind something along the lines of a simple plate.

**Napoleonic memorials by type**



<sup>12</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 28 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 40723).

<sup>13</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 28 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 19707).

<sup>14</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 28 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 57579).

Indeed, some tablets were uncomplicated. That dedicated to Captain Henry Inman at Holy Trinity Church, Woodspring, Somerset, for example, comprises a cast brass engraving of a fouled anchor. It is made more elaborate only by an inscription which provides Henry's years of birth and death, details of his father, the theatres in which, and under whom, he served and his place of demise.<sup>15</sup> The plaque recording the death of Edmund Freeman, erected in the Parish Church at Blythford, Suffolk, is even more straightforward. It gives Edmund's birth and death dates; records when and where he was killed in action with two French frigates and mentions the fact that he was 'aged 21 years 5 weeks and 4 days'.<sup>16</sup> Many other memorials in the tablets category are far more complex. The plaque placed in memory of Edward Percival at St. Iberius Church, Wexford, shown overleaf, measures slightly over nine feet in height by more than four feet across and is framed by a pair of inverted cannon in limestone. Above the plaque the stern of the frigate *Havannah* overlooks a small boat crammed with sailors and marines. At the bow stands an officer, hat in one hand, cutlass in the other. A church welcoming leaflet describes it as 'a flamboyant depiction'. The incident took place on Wednesday 6<sup>th</sup> January 1813,<sup>17</sup> but it was not until the middle of the following June that a newspaper reported the circumstances.

<sup>15</sup> Imperial War Museum, United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online], Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 28 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 29158).

<sup>16</sup> Imperial War Museum, United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online], Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 28 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 4957).

<sup>17</sup> Inventory number 129.

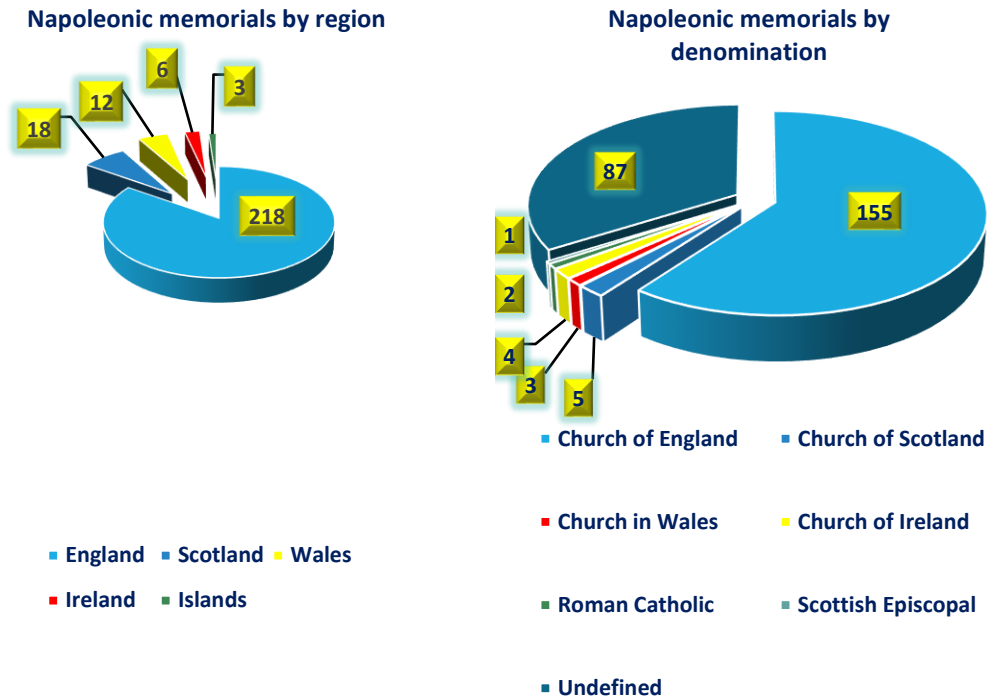


**Photographed, with permission, at St. Iberius Church, Wexford, Friday 30<sup>th</sup> December 2016.**

Captain Cadogan, of the *Havannah*, had advised, by letter, that ‘a French gun-boat, and three merchant vessels’ had been captured but that Edward Percival, ‘master’s mate’, had been killed and ‘two seamen wounded’.<sup>18</sup> Edward was therefore illustrated on the plaque as leading the capture in the small vessel deployed by *Havannah*, and his likeness also appears at the head of the memorial. To complete the statistical picture of the Napoleonic memorials, the location and denomination of all 257 are each shown on the following page. Numbers outside of England, in the region category, and outside of the Church of England, in the denomination category, are understandably small, yet it is apparent that all other regions of the British Isles were involved in erecting memorials and that other churches and religions were represented.

<sup>18</sup> *Suffolk Chronicle; Or, Weekly General Advertiser, and County Express* – Saturday 19 June 1813.





Some of the memorials, particularly those raised by individual regiments, recorded events but mentioned no names at all. At the Parish Church of St. Akeveranus, on the Lizard Peninsula, Cornwall, a wooden board with ship's metal fitting attached, reads: 'This gudgeon came from H.M. Brig of War Primrose lost with 126 lives on the Manacles 22 Jan 1809'.<sup>19</sup> A Temple at Kew Gardens has one plaque placed on the outside and eighteen within. The outer plaque informs that the Temple was built in 1837 and that the 'inner walls are decorated with a series of iron plaques commemorating the actions and campaigns fought by the British Army between 1760-1815'.<sup>20</sup> No names are anywhere mentioned. Plenty of other memorials, however, do include names, albeit in many cases just individual, and names are the focus of the next section.

<sup>19</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 30 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 41207). Italics added.

<sup>20</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 30 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 39913).

*The Napoleonic/Peninsular Memorialised*

The Battle of Waterloo was fought on just a single day, Sunday 18<sup>th</sup> June 1815, and *British Battles.com* lists 6,429 officers and men, from across forty British regiments, as having been killed and wounded. A square obelisk surmounted by a stone orb was erected in the gardens of Bispham Hall Estate, Billinge, to commemorate the event and thirty-three names are listed. The names on this memorial, however, are those, of *survivors* rather than any of the men who perished: survivor names such as Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Frederic Cavendish, who commanded the 12<sup>th</sup> light dragoons and Major-General Sir James Kempt who directed the 8<sup>th</sup> brigade.<sup>21</sup>

The Royal Engineers commissioned a stained-glass window at Rochester Cathedral ‘in memory of the officers ... who served in the Peninsula and Waterloo campaigns’.<sup>22</sup> The names are inscribed on mosaic panels arcaded on either side of the great west door and comprise twenty-five dead; twenty-six wounded, and eighty-three who served without casualty. In each category, the names are arranged in descending order of rank, the most senior being that of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Richard Fletcher, who was killed by a musket-ball at San Sebastian on Tuesday 31<sup>st</sup> August 1813.<sup>23</sup> The most junior included in the names are those of the forty-two lieutenants who survived either, or both, battle experiences unscathed. No mention was made of any non-

<sup>21</sup> E. M. Lloyd, ‘Ponsonby, Sir Frederic Cavendish (1783–1837)’, rev. James Falkner, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22493>, accessed 2 Dec 2016] and Peter Burroughs, ‘Kempt, Sir James (1763/4–1854)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15339>, accessed 2 Dec 2016].

<sup>22</sup> Bromley, J. & D., (2015) *Wellington’s Men Remembered: A Register Of Memorials To Soldiers Who Fought In The Peninsular War And At Waterloo*, Volume 2, Barnsley: The Praetorian Pressan imprint of Pen & Sword Books Ltd. p.605.

<sup>23</sup> R. H. Vetch, ‘Fletcher, Sir Richard, first baronet (1768–1813)’, rev. John Sweetman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9740>, accessed 2 Dec 2016].

commissioned officer, or sapper, who may have died, been wounded, or returned home alive.

As already mentioned, many of the memorials commemorate one single individual, mostly officers of high rank. Amongst them is a marble wall panel, of horizontal format, erected at St. Paul's Cathedral to the memory of Colonel the Honourable Henry Cadogan and for which 'the House of Commons voted £1,575', thus enabling the memorial to state that it had been erected at public expense.<sup>24</sup> The panel shows carved figures of a general being supported by soldiers as he advances into battle and the inscription reveals that Cadogan 'fell gloriously' on Monday 21<sup>st</sup> June 1813 at the battle of Vittoria.<sup>25</sup> The British lost 3,675 men during the battle of Vittoria.<sup>26</sup> Being represented as a support for their leader was the most that the vast majority of those who perished could expect as a memorial.

Only two instances of junior rank individuals being commemorated have been found. These are Sergeant John Taylor, who will be discussed in the next paragraph (as his memorial is the only Napoleonic/Peninsular example found to contain the word 'sacrifice'), and Midshipman J.B.H. Whitshed, of *H.M.S. Berwick*. Whitshed is commemorated by a plaque at St. Peter's Church, Iver, Buckinghamshire which reveals that he was James Bentinck Hawkins-Whitshed, killed by a cannon ball to the head at the Port of Negage in the Mediterranean on Saturday 11 December 1813, having just reached the age of eighteen years. James was the eldest son of Admiral

<sup>24</sup> John Sweetman, 'Cadogan, Henry (1780–1813)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4308>, accessed 3 Dec 2016].

<sup>25</sup> Imperial War Museums available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/>. [Accessed 30 November 2016].

<sup>26</sup> *British Battles.com [Online]*, Available: <http://www.britishbattles.com/peninsula/peninsula-vittoria.htm>, [Accessed 30 November 2016].

Hawkins-Whitshed to whom Captain Brace of the Berwick wrote personally to report ‘the loss of that amiable and much to be lamented youth, whose goodness of heart was alone rivalled by his courage’ – laudatory sentiments which, amongst many others, found their way onto the plaque at St. Peter’s.<sup>27</sup>

Chapter Six of this thesis will particularly discuss the word ‘sacrifice’ which, by the end of WWI, had come to mean the ‘supposedly willing and generous laying down of their lives by soldiers in defence of their country and their ideals’.<sup>28</sup> It should be noted at this stage, however, that amongst the 257 Napoleonic memorials examined ‘sacrifice’ has been found only once. That instance is a white stone tablet on a south wall in St. Mary and All Saints Church, Kidderminster, and it is also unusual in that a non-commissioned officer, John Taylor of the 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Dragoons, is the commemorative subject. Taylor died at Elvas, Portugal, on Tuesday 14<sup>th</sup> November 1809 and the memorial was erected by his Captain. Part of the inscription reads ‘he fell a sacrifice, among hundreds, to the sickness which visited the army of Lieutenant-General Lord Wellington, after the retreat from Talevera, in the Spanish dominions’.<sup>29</sup> That sickness, according to Andrew Bamford, was either ‘typhoid fever, or ... a combination of typhoid and malaria’ but the meaning of the word ‘sacrifice’, in this context, was entirely different to the interpretation it imparted to those reading war memorials just over one hundred years later.<sup>30</sup> The discovery of only one example of the Cross and one of the word ‘sacrifice’ leads to the conclusion that a link between

<sup>27</sup> Urban, S., (1814) *Gentleman's Magazine And Historical Chronicle*, volume 84, part 1, London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley pp. 196-197.

<sup>28</sup> King, A., (1998) *Memorials Of The Great War In Britain: The Symbolism And Politics of Remembrance*, Oxford: Berg, an imprint of Oxford International Publishers Ltd. p.129.

<sup>29</sup> Cock, E., (1824) *The Soldier's Companion Or Martial Recorder*, London: Edward Cock. P.369.

<sup>30</sup> Bamford, A., (2013) *Sickness, Suffering, And The Sword: The British Regiment On Campaign, 1808 - 1815*, Norman, Oklahoma, USA: University of Oklahoma Press. p.236.

Christ's sacrifice for the sins of humanity and a soldier's sacrifice in war for the greater good, had not yet been popularly made. Borg comments that whilst 'crosses were not widely used as war memorials before the 20<sup>th</sup> century [they are now] the most familiar of all memorial symbols': a development which he attributes to the 'Cross of Sacrifice', designed by Sir Reginald Blomfield (1856-1942).<sup>31</sup>

The subjects of some Napoleonic memorials were recorded as having died years later, but as a result of the wars. Robert H. Bamford Hesketh, for example, died on Monday 15<sup>th</sup> September 1828 and is commemorated on a tablet in St. Michael's Church, Abergele, on the north coast of Wales. He was an army Major who received a wound at the Battle of Waterloo, from which he never recovered. The tablet records that 'his sufferings were severe and heart rending to his numerous relations'.<sup>32</sup> Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe died on Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1832 and was buried beneath the Commonwealth Church in London's Mayfair district. A plaque details his military career and observes that 'he was selected for the onerous post of Governor of St. Helena during the captivity of Napoleon'; a selection which 'exposed him ever afterwards to persecution and calumny', also causing 'his life to be endangered'.<sup>33</sup> Memorials were an ideal means of recording achievements, perceived injustices, genealogical details, and moments of pride. The family of Edward Thornborough Parker, who died of wounds received in action off Boulogne, was proud to inform future generations that 'Admiral Lord Nelson, whose friend he was, attended his

<sup>31</sup> Borg, A., (1991) *War Memorials From Antiquity To The Present*, London: Leo Cooper, an imprint of Pen & Sword Books Ltd. p. 9.

<sup>32</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 30 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 31101).

<sup>33</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 30 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 39838).

funeral'.<sup>34</sup> The Napoleonic and Peninsular wars produced two particular heroes – Admiral Horatio Nelson, and Field-Marshal Sir Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington. Nelson is the subject of twenty-nine of the memorials analysed here – over 10% of the total. That total does not include the column at London's Trafalgar Square as, despite being constructed in the 1840s, it is strangely listed by the *United Kingdom War Memorials Register* as only having been unveiled on Wednesday 9<sup>th</sup> June 1926.<sup>35</sup> The pillar in Dublin's Sackville (later O'Connell) Street has also not been included as it is not catalogued by the *Irish War Memorials Project*, presumably because it was destroyed by Irish Republican Army action on Tuesday 8<sup>th</sup> March 1966. Nelson and Wellesley head a list of the great and the good who were, almost exclusively, the subject of early nineteenth-century commemoration. Further, that list represents only a very tiny percentage of those who died in the Napoleonic/Peninsular wars.

There is also a considerable duplication of names amongst the memorials, Nelson's, because of his widespread commemoration, being, of course, foremost. The total number of names appearing on the 257 memorials examined is 308 but eliminating the duplications gives an actual number of men memorialised, in the *United Kingdom Register* and *Irish Project* contemporary records, of 268. That figure is actually only 0.12% of the vast number estimated to have died. This memorialisation picture would change considerably by mid-century as will now be demonstrated in a discussion on the memorials of the Crimean War.

<sup>34</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register* [Online], Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 30 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 41249). Commas added.

<sup>35</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register* [Online], Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 30 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 11551).

*Crimean War, 5<sup>th</sup> October 1853 - 30<sup>th</sup> March 1856*

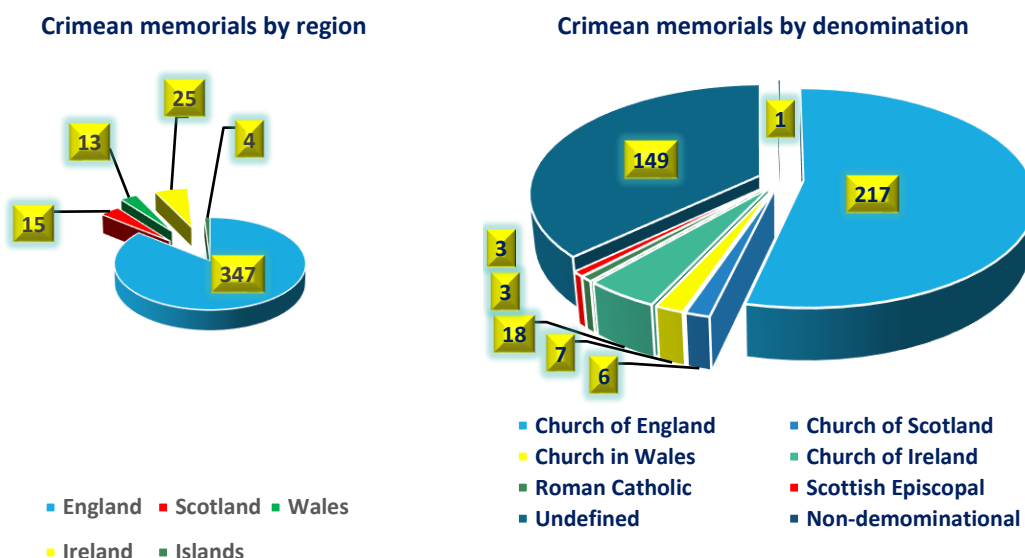
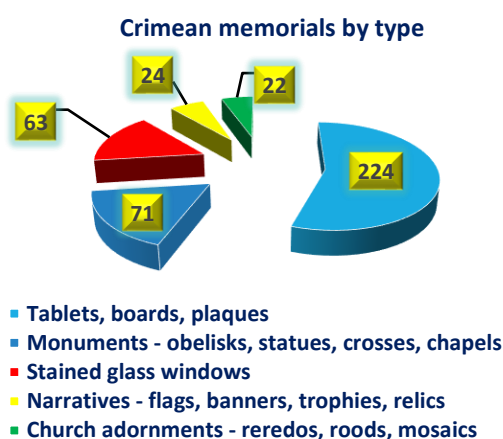
The number of British casualties in the Napoleonic and Peninsular Wars is estimated by Samuel Dumas and K.O. Vedel-Petersen to have been 219,420.<sup>36</sup> Their comparable figure for the Crimean War is recorded as 22,182 yet, as this section will establish, there are many more named individuals recorded on Crimean memorials.<sup>37</sup> A closer examination of these statistics shows no noticeable difference in the causes of death. In the case of the Napoleonic/Peninsular conflicts a staggering 88.35% of casualties were the result of disease, whilst the figure for the Crimean is only slightly less at 79.25%. The individual, however, was much more centre-stage by mid-nineteenth-century, being now meticulously recorded (at least in England and Wales) under the Births and Deaths Registration Act of 1836 and the Census Acts of 1850. The census of 1841 had been the first to recognise the individual and it had also recorded his/her age (rounded down in the case of those aged fifteen and over), sex, occupation, and birth location. The 1851 census added marital status, refined age and birth location details, and added a disability note. It is contended here that these developments in demographic record-keeping somewhat contributed to the recognition, by mid-nineteenth-century, of the individual in war commemoration. This section will now examine those individuals along the same lines as before, that is to say firstly by reference to the memorials that bear their names and secondly by the personages themselves.

<sup>36</sup> Dumas, S. and Vedel-Petersen, K.O., (1923) *Losses Of Life Caused By War*, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. p.31.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

### *The Crimean Memorials*

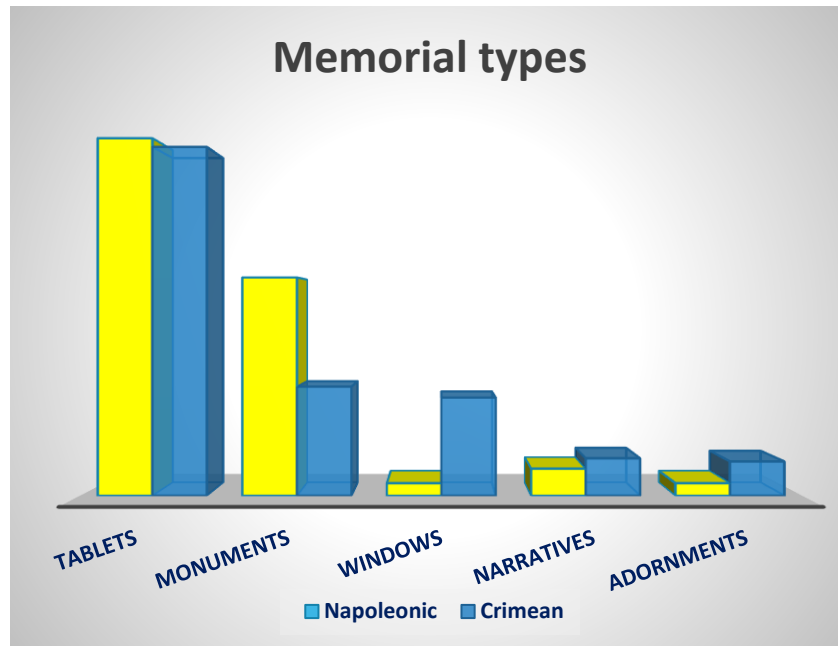
The *United Kingdom Register* and *Irish War Memorials Project* records, together, list 442 Crimean memorials, but again eliminating duplications and those not contemporary the figure relevant to this discussion is 404. Based on that number of records the charts below show memorial statistics, as before, in respect of type, region and denomination.



Islands, in the bottom left hand chart, are the Isles of Wight and Man and each has two relevant memorials. In order to visually clarify the similarities and differences between the Napoleonic/Peninsular and Crimean commemorations studied, a further



chart appears below showing the categories of commemorative object in percentage terms. Tablets, either appearing on their own or accompanying other objects, were still the most popular form of commemoration whilst the growing nineteenth-century interest in stained-glass is apparent.



As was the case with Napoleonic tablets, many Crimean memorials in this category comprise complex works of art. That shown on the following page commemorates Captain the Honourable John Hely Hutchinson of the 13<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Dragoons who died at Scutari on Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1855 aged twenty-five years. A marble catafalque rests on a marble shelf with Captain Hutchinson's helmet lying on top. One of the crossed flags bears the badge of the 13<sup>th</sup> Regiment and the whole memorial measures about four feet in width and five in height. A poignant reminder of the principal cause of death in nineteenth-century wars is inscribed on the plaque. It reads: 'He was called away from the love of all who knew him to die for his country by foes more formidable than all the might of Russia – Dysentery and Fever'.



**Photographed, with permission, at St. Iberius Church, Wexford,  
Friday 30<sup>th</sup> December 2016.**

It was stated in the *Background* section of this chapter that narrative commemoration would become much less popular as time went by, yet it can be seen from the last chart that narrative featured more in Crimean memorials than in Napoleonic. The particular reason is that captured Russian cannon formed the basis for many Crimean memorials: an echo of an ancient practice of gathering up the weapons of a defeated foe for dedication in the form of a trophy.<sup>38</sup> The spa town of Cheltenham used two such subjugated items and its *Chronicle* describes how they were procured and the mood in which they were received. ‘When Sebastopol was relinquished by the Russians ...

<sup>38</sup> Cooley, ‘Commemorating The War Dead Of The Roman World’, 77.

upwards of eleven hundred'<sup>39</sup> pieces of ordnance fell into British hands and by the middle of April 1856 '718' of them had 'already' been 'embarked for England'.<sup>40</sup> 'Lord Panmure', Secretary of State for War, 'promptly complied with requests made' by towns and cities to receive one or two weapons, and 'Dublin, Liverpool, Bath, Bristol, Manchester, all got and mounted their guns'.<sup>41</sup> In fact, similar pieces of ordnance found their way into Scotland and Wales as well as Ireland and England and seventeen of them have been traced in the memorials covered in the above charts. The Cheltenham guns had arrived in early 1857 and had been put into a stable yard at Queen's Hotel since which time they had been 'much-abused' and had become the subject of 'epigrams', 'witticisms', 'songs' and 'sketches' which 'circulated everywhere'.<sup>42</sup> The atmosphere on the day of their inauguration might be best described as carnival. The leader of the parade, a military captain, was greeted by 'groups of idlers' shouting, amongst other phrases, 'Oh! Crikey, aint (sic) he a Scrub'; banners floated 'unsteadily from the "beery" state of their supporters', and 'a motley crowd, tag-rag, and bob-tail, not over respectable', 'seemed glad of the excuse for taking a holiday'.<sup>43</sup> In speeches, the High Bailiff trusted that 'his fellow townsmen would thoroughly enjoy the pleasures of the day'; an army colonel commented that the 'snarls and sneers' of a local paper had 'vainly endeavoured to interfere with the enjoyment of the great mass of the people'; and, on a serious note, Admiral Sir

<sup>39</sup> *Cheltenham Chronicle* – Tuesday 6 July 1858.

<sup>40</sup> "Despatches From The Crimea." *Times* [London, England] 19 Apr. 1856: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Dec. 2016.

<sup>41</sup> *Cheltenham Chronicle* – Tuesday 6 July 1858.

<sup>42</sup> *Cheltenham Chronicle* – Tuesday 6 July 1858. The problem had been that a forged letter, purporting to come from Mr William S. Davis, proprietor of the Queen's, had been sent to the War Office as a practical joke. The letter complained that Cheltenham's Town Improvement Committee had not the funds to use the guns as a memorial and asked if storage expenses would be paid or if the guns could be removed, or sold as old iron - Source *Gloucester Journal* 15 May 1858.

<sup>43</sup> *Cheltenham Chronicle* – Tuesday 6 July 1858.

Maurice Berkeley made reference to Cheltenham College which, he said, ‘had sent so many to fight the battles of their country’.<sup>44</sup>

A light-hearted mood also prevailed at York on the occasion of two Sebastopol guns being received. ‘The ceremony was attended with considerable rejoicings and festivity’, reported the local press; ‘the day to a great extent being observed as a holiday’.<sup>45</sup> Similarly at Lancaster an obelisk was unveiled on ‘a day of pageantry, gratifying the inhabitants at large with one of the most interesting spectacles that has perhaps ever been witnessed in our midst’.<sup>46</sup> Elsewhere, the Russian gun presented to Canterbury was moved, against a background comparable to Lancaster, from the railway station to its position in the city on a carriage ‘decked with bays’ and accompanied by military bands ‘playing alternately lively airs’.<sup>47</sup> The ceremony surrounding the Lancaster obelisk was typical of many. A mile-long procession comprising police, military bands, schoolboys, clergy, councillors, magistrates, and office-bearers of every local Friendly Society marched to the town’s cemetery where the memorial had been erected. The Mayor read details of name, attachment, cause and date of death, and age, of all fifteen who were commemorated. The Vicar accepted the monument on behalf of the Burial Board and short addresses were made by officers representing the navy and army. Those speakers were followed by two members of parliament and a senior magistrate, after which the militia fired three volleys and the crowd dispersed, some to the Old Sirs Inn where a dinner had been provided by the Mayor. No prayers were recited and no hymns were sung. The Lancaster ceremony was more in the vein of a celebration of valour, patriotism, and the high ground upon

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette* – Saturday 6 November 1858.

<sup>46</sup> *Lancaster Gazette* – Saturday 10 November 1860.

<sup>47</sup> *Canterbury Journal, Kentish Times and Farmers’ Gazette* – Saturday 31 July 1858.

which the country now stood. The day was summed up in the Mayor's remark that 'all services and honours paid to the dead, are intended to be encouragements to the living'.<sup>48</sup>

Memorials appeared to be partly judged by the press on their ability to enhance the environment. The granite column memorial at Southsea to Captain Peel, of *H.M.S Shannon*, erected between two Russian guns, and topped with a bronze trophy made of metal from ordnance captured at Lucknow, was said to 'certainly be another attraction to the Esplanade'.<sup>49</sup> The small body of spectators, who braved bad weather in November 1856, when a statue of General Sir Charles James Napier was unveiled in London's Trafalgar Square, were reported as witnesses to 'the addition of one more work of art to the metropolis'.<sup>50</sup> An enamelled brass monument placed in York Cathedral in February 1859 was said to 'constitute a very pleasing contrast and addition to the monuments which already adorn the south aisle of our venerable Minster'.<sup>51</sup> The Russian gun unveiled at Maidstone in November 1858 was considered to form a 'bold and interesting object of curiosity for visitors entering the High-street from the bridge'.<sup>52</sup>

Some memorials, however, attracted an almost unbelievable amount of criticism, none more so than that erected in London's Waterloo Place to commemorate officers and men of the Brigade of Guards and shown overleaf.

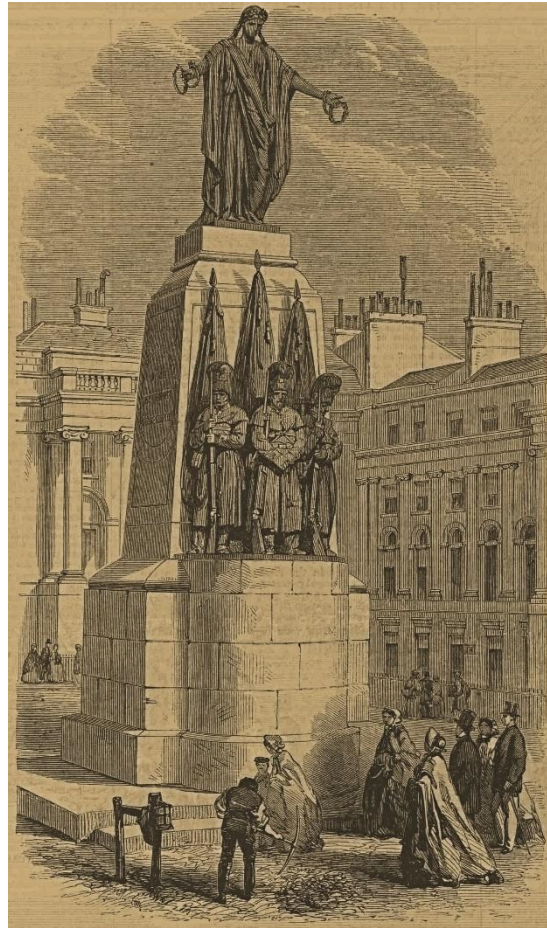
<sup>48</sup> *Lancaster Gazette* – Saturday 10 November 1860.

<sup>49</sup> *Hampshire Telegraph* – Saturday 24 December 1859.

<sup>50</sup> *Evening Mail* – Friday 28 November 1856.

<sup>51</sup> *York Herald* – Saturday 28 February 1859.

<sup>52</sup> *Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser* – Tuesday 16 November 1858.



The composition is of three Guardsmen – Grenadier, Scots and Coldstream – stood, heads bowed, under the watchful eye of an allegorical figure, originally interpreted as *Honour*, when the memorial was presented to the public in 1861 but reinterpreted as *Victory* when the whole composition was later moved some thirty feet northwards to make room for other statues. The Guardsmen and *Victory* were cast in bronze from seventeen captured cannon.<sup>53</sup> *Illustrated London News* lead the attack naming the memorial an ‘eyesore’ and suggested some provision to prevent ‘our streets and squares being blocked up in all directions with unsightly effigies to departed worth’.<sup>54</sup> ‘As a work of art’, the paper continued, ‘this memorial is almost beneath criticism’; an ‘outrage’ to ‘all accepted rules of artistic treatment’ with *Honour* hinting at the idea

<sup>53</sup> Borg, *War Memorials From Antiquity To The Present*, 41.

<sup>54</sup> *Illustrated London News* – Saturday 13 April 1861.

of ‘a street acrobat throwing his four rings’.<sup>55</sup> *The Times* quoted the inscription ‘To the memory of 2,162 officers and men, &c.,’ and commented that ‘it may be inferred either that the men were all officers, or that the officers were not men’.<sup>56</sup> That criticism of the grammar employed might have been avoided had notice been taken of a suggestion made in a letter to the paper that ‘the words “non-commissioned officers” ... be inserted between the words “officers” and “men”’.<sup>57</sup>

Did the statue deserve such disapproval? It is not within the remit of this thesis to pass an opinion, but the contemporary engraving reproduced on the previous page shows the nature of the work.<sup>58</sup> Interestingly, it would be over fifty years before it was moved and a statue of Florence Nightingale, who came to prominence during the Crimean War, erected on the original site. Excepting for Royal subjects, that late memorial to the well-known nurse was the first statue to a woman to be erected in London.<sup>59</sup>

Two of the memorials examined can be said to have broken new ground. The first, a pair of water pumps with spouts and handles set into a Doric column, was installed at Thorne, South Yorkshire with an inscription reading ‘Commemoration of the Peace 1856; Drink and be Thankful’.<sup>60</sup> *The Times* reported on the opening of a fountain ‘for the use of men, horses, and dogs’ in Princes Street, Edinburgh, in September 1859 and

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> "Statue Of Havelock." *Times* [London, England] 11 Apr. 1861: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 23 Dec. 2016.

<sup>57</sup> M. P. "The Guards' Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 26 Apr. 1861: 5. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 23 Dec. 2016.

<sup>58</sup> *Illustrated London News* – Saturday 13 April 1861. Image © Illustrated London News Group.

<sup>59</sup> *Birmingham Daily Mail* – Wednesday 24 February 1915.

<sup>60</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 30 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 28052).



commented that ‘the idea was quite new’.<sup>61</sup> In fact, such fountains originated in Liverpool in 1854,<sup>62</sup> and had encouraged the foundation of *The Metropolitan Free Drinking Fountains Association* in 1859 to bring the idea to the metropolis.<sup>63</sup> The remembrance fountain in Thorne in 1856 was therefore innovative both in terms of commemoration and in the supply of a public amenity. The second memorial in this breaking-new-ground category commemorates a horse – Crimean Bob. A plaque at King’s Royal Hussars Museum, Winchester, records that Bob passed unharmed through the Crimean Campaign and died at Cahir Barracks on Sunday 9<sup>th</sup> November 1862 aged thirty-four years.<sup>64</sup> That barracks was situated at Kilcommon, just outside Cahir, County Tipperary, and was closed in 1922. It was destroyed during the Civil War that followed Irish independence, but the gates, wall and soldier’s social club remain. A replica of the plaque is mounted on a wall below the library.<sup>65</sup> Leaving the memorials discussion behind and moving along the same line as taken in the Napoleonic section, this chapter will now consider those whom the memorials commemorated.

### *The Crimean Memorialised*

The total number of names shown on the 404 Crimean memorials is 6,206 but after deducting duplications the relevant number for discussion is 6,189. Unlike the Napoleonic period, some Regiments now listed individual names. The 17<sup>th</sup>

<sup>61</sup> "Opening Of The Sinclair Fountain At Edin-." *Times* [London, England] 1 Sept. 1859: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 21 Dec. 2016.

<sup>62</sup> *Chester Chronicle and Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser* – Saturday 28 June 1856.

<sup>63</sup> "The General Election." *Times* [London, England] 27 Apr. 1859: 5. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 21 Dec. 2016.

<sup>64</sup> *Imperial War Museum, United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 28 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 63691).

<sup>65</sup> *Visit Cahir Tipperary* [Online], Available: <http://www.visitcahir.ie/>, [November 2016–January 2017].



Leicestershire at Leicester Cathedral showed 213; the 34<sup>th</sup>, or Cumberland, at Carlisle Cathedral showed 324; and the 49<sup>th</sup> Herefordshire at St. George's Church, Reading, showed 400.<sup>66</sup> Other regiments, however, were selective. The 55<sup>th</sup>, Westmorland, erected a tablet at Holy Trinity Church, Kendal, to the twelve officers, fifteen sergeants, eighteen corporals and 364 private soldiers who 'fell during the war with Russia in Turkey and the Crimea'.<sup>67</sup> The only actual names listed were those of the twelve officers. The Royal Naval Brigade commissioned a tablet, which separated *officers* and *men*, for placement within the monumental chambers at Kensal Green Cemetery. Eight officers were killed; three died of disease, and thirty were wounded whilst 116 men were killed; forty-one died of disease, and 431 were wounded. The tablet was (it has since been lost) 'mounted by a group of five tents, a pair of flags and the barrel of a cannon ... flanked by two broken masts'.<sup>68</sup> Upon the masts were inscribed the names of the 116 men killed in action and on the tablet itself the names, ranks and ships of the eight officers killed in action. Names of the forty-four individuals, both officers and men, who died of disease, were omitted and the extended information of rank and ship was recorded against officers only.

Whilst many more individuals were counted and named on memorials by mid-nineteenth century some regiments still chose to commemorate the event but not quantify the losses. A figure of *Liberty* distributing wreaths from a basket at the Royal Artillery Barracks, Woolwich, was 'erected in memory of gunners who fell' but no

<sup>66</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 28 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 37601), (WMR-4253), and (WMR-12816).

<sup>67</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 30 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR-409).

<sup>68</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 30 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 64698).

names are shown.<sup>69</sup> As with the Napoleonic wars, the Crimean created two leading characters although neither of them was to become anything like the household names of Nelson and Wellington. Lord Raglan led the British land forces in Crimea and Admiral Sir Charles Napier commanded the British fleet in the Baltic.<sup>70</sup> Raglan is commemorated by stained-glass at St. Nicolas' Church, Great Bookham, Surrey and at Horfield Barracks, Bristol; as well as by plaques at the Royal Garrison Church, Portsmouth, and Great Stanhope Street, Mayfair, where he lived.<sup>71</sup> There was also a balustrade at the Old Guard's Chapel, Westminster, lost when the chapel was destroyed by a flying bomb in 1944.<sup>72</sup> A house, Cefntilla Court, together with 238 acres of land, at Usk Monmouthshire, was purchased by 1,623 of Raglan's friends, admirers and comrades and presented by them, in perpetuity, to his son and heirs as a lasting memorial.<sup>73</sup> In addition, Raglan's name appears on the memorials of seven other military men as having mentioned them in dispatches or been their commander. These seven provide more recent examples of the practice of including biographical details, and moments of pride, touched upon, in relation to the Napoleonic/Peninsular period, on page sixty-eight.

<sup>69</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 30 November 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 11883).

<sup>70</sup> Cummins, J., (2009) *The War Chronicles: From Flintlocks To Machine Guns: A Global Reference Of All Major Modern Conflicts*, Beverly, Massachusetts: Fair Winds Press, a member of the Quayside Publishing Group.

<sup>71</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 5 December 2016]. © IWM (WMR -63639), (WMR-66468), and (WMR-63641/42).

<sup>72</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 5 December 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 48556).

<sup>73</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 5 December 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 63627).

By contrast, Sir Charles Napier seems not to be commemorated at all. He had refused, during the war, to act upon a battle tactic suggested by Sir James Graham, first lord of the Admiralty, and, as a result, the two men fell out.<sup>74</sup> Napier, however, was ‘backed by public sympathy’ and earned ‘in the prophetic instinct of the people the right to be called the modern NELSON’, although he was also recognised as intemperate and lacking in sensitivity.<sup>75</sup> Napier was educated, but not commemorated, at Royal High School, Edinburgh. His story is an indication that mid-nineteenth-century men needed an untarnished reputation and the support of friends in high places to achieve remembrance. Some few participants in the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny did achieve recognition at their places of education and they are the subject of the next section.

### *Schools*

Sarah Wearne, Archivist at Abingdon School, records that the ‘earliest school commemoration’ was for past pupils of Cheltenham College killed in the First Anglo-Afghan War of 1839-1842. She goes on to point out, however, that the names appear on plaques in the College chapel, not actually built until 1896, ‘so the commemoration was not contemporary’.<sup>76</sup> Erecting war memorials to alumni of Public/Private Schools only really began, and even then on a very limited scale, after the Crimean War.

An elaborate memorial column, to commemorate those past pupils of Westminster School lost in both the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny of 1857, was erected next

<sup>74</sup> Andrew Lambert, ‘Napier, Sir Charles (1786–1860)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19747, accessed 24 Dec 2016].

<sup>75</sup> *Morning Chronicle* – Wednesday 7 November 1855.

<sup>76</sup> Wearne, S., (2010) ‘Sons Of This Place’ in *Attain*, volume 4, issue 12. p. 23.

to the Great West Door of Westminster Abbey, in front of the entrance to Dean's-yard and described by *The Times*, as 'original, intelligible and picturesque'.<sup>77</sup> The column was placed on a pedestal which included a lion at each of its four corners whilst about one-third up the shaft of the column, the rose, shamrock, thistle and fleur-de-lys appeared in bold foliated work together with a lion and eagle. Seated statues of Edward the Confessor, Henry III, Elizabeth I and Victoria came above these figures and supported at the top of the pillar was a statue of St. George, slaying the Dragon. At the base, nineteen past pupils, most of them high-ranking army officers, were named; ten had lost their lives in the war and nine in the mutiny. The inscription acknowledged that some had been killed in action, some died of wounds, and some of disease. All were said to have given their lives for their country. The remainder of the inscription, set out below, succinctly summed up the reason for erecting the monument and its anticipated impact.

This column was erected by their old schoolfellows in token of sorrow for their loss of pride in their valour and in full assurance that the remembrance of their heroism in life and death will inspire their successors at Westminster with the same courage and self-devotion.<sup>78</sup>

*The Times* concerned itself with a detailed examination of this memorial in order to sum it up in the three words, original, intelligible, picturesque, mentioned above. It found that the proportion of the column was not absolutely classical 'the height of the shaft being about half a diameter in excess of the Corinthian rule'.<sup>79</sup> On the other hand, it considered the work 'well-relieved against the sky', no matter from which

<sup>77</sup> "The Westminster Memorial And The Guards' Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 22 May 1861: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 22 Dec. 2016.

<sup>78</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 5 December 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 11620).

<sup>79</sup> "The Westminster Memorial And The Guards' Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 22 May 1861: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 22 Dec. 2016.

direction it was approached, and that the architect had satisfied 'cultivated taste'.<sup>80</sup> Neither was all the included symbolism lost on the paper. Two of the lions were noted to have the right paw on a Russian helmet and the other two on a flag which might be supposed that of the rebel sepoys. The lion and eagle were recognised as symbols of war and the four seated statues as, respectively, the founder of the monastery, the rebuilder of the abbey, the foundress of the school, and the reigning monarch. The architect was acknowledged as having taken inspiration from Brittany and the foliated work understood to much resemble the best of French 14<sup>th</sup> century work. The whole article was praise indeed by a paper which, only the previous month, had described a statue of Sir Henry Havelock in Trafalgar Square as an exhibition of 'bad taste and feeble imagination' erected in the 'home of exquisite dullness and stilted mediocrity'.<sup>81</sup>

Harrow chose to commemorate its twenty-two Crimean dead by the building of a new chapel, consecrated by the Lord Bishop of London on All Saints' Day, 1<sup>st</sup> November 1857,<sup>82</sup> whilst Winchester College erected five cinquefoiled arches measuring twenty-nine feet by sixteen in the porch to the chapel. Panels within the Winchester arches bear the names of thirteen dead, all officers, and above the capitals of the shafts separating each arch, 'are angels bearing shields inscribed Faith, Virtue, Knowledge, Temperance, Patience [and] Charity'.<sup>83</sup> Eton College commissioned 'gorgeous stained glass windows', for its chapel, which *The Times* declared 'among the finest works of

<sup>80</sup> "The Westminster Memorial And The Guards' Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 22 May 1861: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 22 Dec. 2016.

<sup>81</sup> "Statue Of Havelock." *Times* [London, England] 11 Apr. 1861: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 22 Dec. 2016.

<sup>82</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register [Online]*, Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 5 December 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 11216).

<sup>83</sup> *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* – Thursday 2 December 1858.

the kind recently erected in this country' and sure to be a 'lasting monument to those brave Etonians whose memory they serve to perpetuate'.<sup>84</sup> Cheltenham College also installed a window in its old chapel and at Marlborough College three past pupils were commemorated on a brass plaque mounted on a 'dark wooden backboard with an ornately carved border'.<sup>85</sup> Charterhouse chose a plaque comprised of 'coloured marble, resembling a classical columbarium for cinerary urns' with the individual compartments being enclosed in an architectural frame.<sup>86</sup> Elizabeth College Guernsey have no war memorial prior to a statue commemorating eleven alumni who died in the Boer War. Even though the school was founded in the sixteenth century its magazine does not even go back as far as the mid-nineteenth, but school registers indicate that five lives were lost in the Crimean War and nine in the Indian Mutiny. The record of one boy, George Henry Proctor, who left in 1832, gives details of his career, notes that he died at Scutari in 1855, and that a tablet was erected to his memory in Stamford (sic) Church.<sup>87</sup> That church is actually St. Denys' at Stanford in the Vale, Oxfordshire, and the existence of a tablet there is confirmed in the *United Kingdom War Memorials Register*.<sup>88</sup> 1855 was therefore too early for Elizabeth to think about its own memorial, but late enough for it to realise that details of the post-school progress of pupils should be recorded. Lastly, a gable-topped wooden board was erected in the chapel of Gordon Boys' School in memory of General Sir George Wentworth Alexander Higginson who

<sup>84</sup> "Election Saturday At Eton College." *Times* [London, England] 30 July 1860: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 22 Dec. 2016.

<sup>85</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register* [Online], Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 5 December 2016]. © IWM (WMR-43558).

<sup>86</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register* [Online], Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 5 December 2016]. © IWM (WMR-63258).

<sup>87</sup> Caruthers, Dot (dot@elizabethcollege.gg, 2013. *Boer War 1899-1902*. 17 September. Email to: Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>88</sup> Imperial War Museum, *United Kingdom War Memorials Register* [Online], Available <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/>, [Accessed 5 December 2016]. © IWM (WMR - 31811).

was present at the battles of Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman. Higginson survived the war and ‘died peacefully in his sleep ... at his home Gyldernscroft, Marlow, in his 101<sup>st</sup> year’.<sup>89</sup> He had been one of the founders of the school and a vice-chairman and chairman in various years right up until his death in 1927. This board was therefore positioned well after the Crimean War but it is referenced here as the only other memorial to mention the Russian conflict found amongst the schools studied.

Only eight schools, then, have been found to have contemporary memorials to their war dead in the 1860s. The practice would be taken up by many others forty years later as will be seen in the remaining chapters of this thesis. First, however, there follows a consideration of two military memorials, one in England, one in Ireland, both erected in that latter period. They have been chosen for their location, composition, relationship to the practices discussed throughout this chapter, and to provide a comparison benchmark of commemoration outside of a school environment in the first decade of the twentieth century.

### *Case Studies*

Some time before the beginning of the second Boer War in October 1899 a vocabulary of commemoration, rooted in tradition, became well established. That vocabulary, it will be recalled from the argument set out earlier,<sup>90</sup> was based on medievalism and antiquity and the nexus between the catastrophe of war and historical continuity. Those designers and builders who were to produce memorials following the South African conflict therefore had available to them a wide variety of choice. Occasionally

<sup>89</sup> "General Sir George Higginson." *Times* [London, England] 2 Feb. 1927: 17. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 22 Dec. 2016.

<sup>90</sup> *Introduction*, pages 40/42.

they would create a memorial which brought together a number of those choices in an up-to-date jigsaw of remembrance but more often a memorial would just contain an echo of a distant past. This section will use two military memorials as examples of each category. Both accurately reflected commemorative ideas and practices prevalent at the time of their unveiling and both have survived to be relevant over one hundred years later. Their meanings have inevitably changed over time but they each provide links to a remote past and hold relevance for the present and future. Between them they employ styles and include content replicated in many of the school memorials which will be considered as the thesis develops.

### *Royal Horse, Field, and Garrison Artillery*

During the Edwardian era, the Royal Artillery erected a memorial at the corner of London's St. James' Park, facing The Mall and directly opposite the Duke of York Steps. It commemorates, and individually names, 1,080 officers and men who had fallen in the second Boer War and it was unveiled on Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> July 1910, over eight years after the treaty to end hostilities had been signed. The delay was caused by the choice of site and memorial design having to be agreed by all interested parties and subsequently approved by King Edward VII. The King died on Friday 6<sup>th</sup> May 1910 and so did not live to see the completed work. This memorial was, then, erected at a prominent location and subject to royal patronage and in those respects, it is atypical. In all other respects, however, it provides a good example of an early twentieth-century lieu de mémoire, starting with the fact that it follows the practice, established around the time of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny, of naming the individual, in this case on a series of bronze panels. The names of the dead appear vertically and are arranged in order of rank and unit but on the east facing panel those



of the sixty-one officers who lost their lives are listed together, and in descending order of their army position. About one-third of the officers were not attached to any particular unit but the names of the other two-thirds also appear along with the men for whom they were responsible, so that their individual details are actually listed twice in the bronze. Treating the names in this way recognised equality of sacrifice whilst indulging the custom of the time by acknowledging the fact that many would have thought the officers to be of a class which needed to be kept separate from the ranks of non-commissioned and enlisted men, even in death. Similarly, in an age where wealth and influence could still be passports to army promotion, despite the Cardwell reforms of 1871, it was important to recognise rank and ensure that the higher the military standing of an individual, the nearer to the top of the list his name would appear. Two other factors should be mentioned in relation to the names. Some who perished did so as a result of being killed in action or having succumbed to wounds inflicted during the course of battle. Others drowned; died of sunstroke or were even struck by lightning. Some took their own lives and many were lost to disease, mainly enteric fever. Most died in South Africa, but some were conquered by death aboard ship on their way back home. Others died of their injuries once they had actually reached their places of residence in Britain. Most died before the ceasefire took effect at midnight on Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> May 1902, but some were killed, or died of disease, well after that deadline had passed. Irrespective, they are all listed on the Royal Artillery bronze panels.

The second factor relates to the positioning of the names and in this regard it will have been noted, from the remarks above, that they were inscribed on vertical panels. This, however, was not always the case. In the original design, those panels were

contentedly placed on the floor of the memorial until a Kensington stockbroker,<sup>91</sup> Herbert Stoneham, protested, in a letter to *The Times*, ‘against the position of the names of the honoured dead’ and commented that it was ‘not meet’ that they ‘should be trodden underfoot’.<sup>92</sup> Stoneham’s view was supported in a mail from an ex-Artilleryman who commented that in their present position it would ‘not be very long before [the names were] obliterated’ even though they were cast ‘in metal’.<sup>93</sup> ‘Vieille Moustache’ joined in the correspondence to advise that a lady who had gone to view the memorial had stepped up to the platform and ‘placed her foot upon the name of her eldest son, whose life had been given for his Queen, country, and regiment’.<sup>94</sup> The Office of Works eventually took the point and gave permission for the panels to be repositioned.

The whole memorial was designed by Sir Aston Webb and sculpted by William Robert Colton – both prominent members of the Royal Academy. The central group depicts a powerful and restless horse, representing the *Spirit of War*, being controlled by the winged figure of *Peace* who has her right hand on the horse's mane and her raised wing slightly embracing the animal's neck. The group stands on a pedestal of Portland Stone, a descendant of the columns erected as victory memorials. *Peace* carries an olive branch in her, slightly outstretched, left hand to symbolise armistice, harmony, victory, and reconciliation. She appears as calmly leading the horse, despite its fiery nature, and her control is therefore portrayed as mental rather than physical.

<sup>91</sup> TNA. Archive reference RG14, Census reference RG14PN100 RG78PN4 RD2 SD1 ED13 SN181.

<sup>92</sup> HERBERT S. STONEHAM., and CIVIS. "The Royal Artillery Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 26 July 1910: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 30 May 2017.

<sup>93</sup> LATE R.A. "The Royal Artillery Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 2 Aug. 1910: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 30 May 2017.

<sup>94</sup> VIEILLE MOUSTACHE. "The Royal Artillery Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 23 July 1910: 14. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 30 May 2017.

Emblematic figures available to early twentieth-century war memorial designers included *Victory*, *Peace*, *Grief*, *Hope*, *Courage*, *Duty*, *Liberty*, *Culture*, *Patriotism*, *Honour*, *Truth*, *History* and *Justice*. Winchester College managed to incorporate a further six in their Crimean memorial discussed on page eighty-four. These representations were mostly portrayed as female and the figures might also carry symbolic objects such as a sheaf of laurel leaves, a sword, a set of scales, an hourglass, or a wreath. The Royal Artillery chose an olive branch to symbolise the variety of characteristics mentioned above whereas the figure pictured atop the Guards' memorial, discussed on pages seventy-six/seventy-eight, carried coronals of laurel just to symbolise victory. *Victory* became the most popular of the female figures, but she was originally pagan and was 'transformed', as Borg remarks, 'into a Christian angel with little change in outward form'.<sup>95</sup>



*Royal Artillery Boer War Memorial, The Mall, London*  
Sourced from copyright-cleared Images available: [Wikimedia Commons](#).<sup>96</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Borg, *War Memorials From Antiquity To The Present*, 97.

<sup>96</sup> "This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license".

Single-scene action is depicted in both bas- and high-relief on the base of the Artillery memorial showing artillerymen manoeuvring their horses and weapons over rough terrain and charging into an engagement with the enemy. The scenes are episodic and successors of the narrative tradition of representing war explained in the *Background* section of this chapter.<sup>97</sup> The whole monument is shielded from St. James' Park by a high curved wall, 'also an antique device for marking an area as special or sacred'.<sup>98</sup> There is no evidence of any conflict of opinion as to whether the unveiling ceremony was to be religious or secular but two simultaneous events were arranged to take place on that day. The first was at St. Paul's Cathedral and the other at the memorial site itself, some one-and-a-half miles distant. Attendance at St. Paul's was limited to ex-Artillerymen, bereaved relatives and dignitaries. Railway companies offered reduced fares to those who wished to be present and the cathedral was packed to capacity with men in uniform and women in deep mourning. The choir and congregation sang *Fight the Good Fight; Onward, Christian Soldiers*, and *For all the Saints*, all three hymns having been composed in the second half of the nineteenth century. The service included a reading from Ecclesiasticus which contained the phrase *Their name liveth for evermore* – an expression destined to be carved on countless memorials within the next few years. At the St. James' Park site trumpeters sounded the *Last Post* (an army tradition dating back to 1864), and several Union Jack flags, which had been shielding the monument, fell to the ground in response to an electrical pulse generated at St. Paul's. The proceedings at the cathedral were religious whilst those at the memorial site were secular but at each ceremony memorial tradition was very much in evidence.

<sup>97</sup> Page 58.

<sup>98</sup> Borg, *War Memorials From Antiquity To The Present*, 131.

Tradition was also to the fore almost 300 miles away in Dublin as the next case study will demonstrate.

### *Royal Dublin Fusiliers*

The Boer War memorial to 222 men of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers was opened by Arthur, Duke of Connaught and a brother to King Edward VII, on Monday 19<sup>th</sup> August 1907. In its reporting of the event *The Times* informed its readers that the ‘proposal to erect a memorial by public subscription was eagerly taken up by loyalists of all classes in Dublin and elsewhere’.<sup>99</sup> The memorial took the form of a triumphal arch, modelled on the Arch of Titus, located at the foot of the Palatine hill on the Via Sacra in Rome. The Dublin arch was described in the local press as ‘magnificent’, ‘noble’ and ‘undoubtedly a most beautiful and artistic ornament to the city’.<sup>100</sup> On the underside of the arch were engraved the names of those who had died and upon a frieze around a Doric entablature was written, in letters of gold, Talana, Colenso, Hart’s Hill, Ladysmith, Tugela Heights and Laing’s Nek. These were the principal battles and locations in, and at, which the regiment was engaged in South Africa, described by the Earl of Meath, President of the Memorial Committee, as ‘these glorious contests’.<sup>101</sup> The site for the arch was the main entrance to St Stephen’s Green, a location which had been previously earmarked for a memorial to Theobald Wolfe Tone, leader of the failed 1798 Irish Rebellion. A foundation stone had even been laid in the centenary year of that insurrection with the intention that ‘a great national monument’ to ‘Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen’ would be erected on the

<sup>99</sup> "Royal Dublin Fusiliers' War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 20 Aug. 1907: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 3 Jan. 2017.

<sup>100</sup> *Dublin Daily Express* – Tuesday 20 August 1907.

<sup>101</sup> *Dublin Daily Express* – Tuesday 20 August 1907.

site.<sup>102</sup> The cost of the Wolfe Tone project was estimated at ‘£14,000’ but only ‘£561’ had been raised by the end of the centenary year and, later, ‘most of that was embezzled’.<sup>103</sup> The site was subsequently requisitioned by the Corporation for the Dublin Fusiliers’ memorial.

The original Arch of Titus was erected c.81 CE. It contains single-scene narrative, depictions of ‘laurel wreaths and palm fronds’, and a relief of Titus ‘being crowned by a personification of Victory’.<sup>104</sup> The arch became a model for others, notably the Parisian Arc de Triomphe, commissioned in 1806, which lists 660 names, over 80% being those of generals who had served during the First French Empire of 1804-1814. In contrast, the Fusiliers' Arch lists the names of officers, non-commissioned officers, and enlisted men, by battalion, and with rank playing no part in the subsequent arrangement. For example, in one section of the arch the names of two private soldiers appear between those of a captain and a sergeant, only to be followed by a further six private soldier names sandwiched between those of a lance-sergeant and a lieutenant-colonel. The Fusiliers were therefore one step ahead of their Royal Artillery counterparts in recognising the principle of equality of sacrifice.

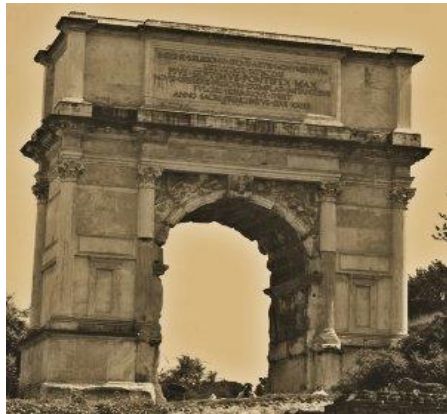
The Titus Arch, Arc de Triomphe, and St. Stephen’s Green Arch are all triumphal in nature. In both Rome and Paris allegorical figures and single-scene narratives were used, but in Dublin only the tiger and elephant emblems of the Fusiliers were incorporated into the design. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the six names around the

<sup>102</sup> *Dublin Daily Nation* – Tuesday 16 August 1898.

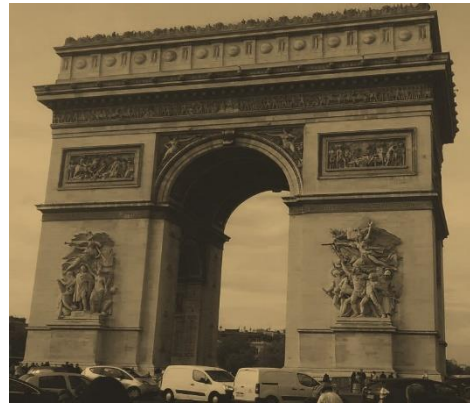
<sup>103</sup> Collins, P., (2004) *Who Fears To Speak Of '98: Commemoration And The Continuing Impact Of The United Irishmen*, Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation. p.47.

<sup>104</sup> Cartwright, M., *Ancient History Encyclopedia* [Online], Available: [www.ancient.eu](http://www.ancient.eu). [December 2016 – January 2017].

entablature can be read as a narrative of the regiment's main areas of activity. At the close of the unveiling ceremony, the Duke of Connaught, as Colonel-in-Chief of the brigade, unlocked and threw open the gates of the memorial, and troops of the Fusiliers, together with those of other regiments, marched through with bayonets fixed. A bayonet attached to a rifle provides a secondary, and highly intimidating weapon, the use of which, in this context, indicated a certain assuredness of victory.



**Arch of Titus, Rome**<sup>105</sup>



**Arc de Triomphe, Paris**<sup>106</sup>



**Royal Dublin Fusiliers' Arch, Dublin**<sup>107</sup>

Religion had played no part in what was actually a brief ceremony at St. Stephen's Green, Dublin. The Duke of Connaught had arrived by train from Belfast on the

<sup>105</sup> Creative Commons: Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike. Author Mark Cartwright, 16 June 2013.

<sup>106</sup> "This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license". Author Darkest Elephant, 30 October 2014, 12.39:11.

<sup>107</sup> Irish War Memorials [Online], Available <http://www.irishwarmemorials.ie/>, [November 2016 - January 2017. Michael Pegum, 17<sup>th</sup> February 2015.



morning train and had driven to the Shelbourne Hotel, adjacent to the memorial site, for lunch with members of the Memorial Committee and high-ranking members of the military. The ceremony only started at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and there were just three speakers – the Duke, the Earl of Meath and the Lord Lieutenant. The massed bands of the 13<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade played Handel's Dead March from *Saul* and Thomas Moore's Irish melody *Oft in the Stilly Night* prior to the massed bugles of the brigade sounding *The Last Post*.<sup>108</sup> Following their march through the memorial the troops dispersed back to their barracks with no further ceremony.

Two further items which appeared in newspapers on the day, and the day following, the opening of the Fusiliers' memorial are worthy of mention. In the first, Miss Sarah Cecilia Harrison,<sup>109</sup> Honorary Secretary of City Labour Yard, wrote to both *Dublin Daily Express* and *Irish Times* regarding, some hundreds of unemployed former members of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers. Miss Harrison drew attention to the fact that some men 'returning home, weakened in health and spirit, find their places filled up, and the only choice open to them that of starvation or the workhouse'.<sup>110</sup> An *Irish Times* editorial the following day paraphrased her remarks as 'while the living cry aloud for bread' a "'costly stone" is offered to their dead comrades'; and, in agreement, expressed the view 'it must never be said of us that, while we honour the dead, we forget the living'.<sup>111</sup> Disillusionment following war will be a theme explored in some detail in Chapter Six but it was obviously an area of concern not new in the 1920s, or confined to feelings following WWI.

<sup>108</sup> *Dublin Daily Express* – Tuesday 20 August 1907.

<sup>109</sup> Census of Ireland 1911. Residents of a house 13.1 in Harcourt Street (Mansion House, Dublin).

<sup>110</sup> *Dublin Daily Express* – Monday 19 August 1907.

<sup>111</sup> *Irish Times* – Tuesday 20 August 1907.



The second item is from an opinion column in *Irish Times* reading, in part:

We know that political excitement ran high in Ireland over the South African War, and that some Irishmen have not hesitated to employ the harshest and most dishonouring language about their fellow-countrymen who did such splendid work in the service of the Empire.<sup>112</sup>

War had arrived shortly after the defeat of Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill for Ireland and hot on the heels of the 1798 centenary. 'The [Wolfe Tone] stone-laying ceremony' on the very spot on which the Fusiliers' memorial was [later] erected, 'was indeed the high point of the centenary celebrations'.<sup>113</sup> Against this background, many in Ireland would have agreed with comments made by Major John MacBride, who raised the Irish Transvaal Brigade, which actually fought on the side of the Boers. He described the war as 'unjust' and contended that the sympathy of 'Fellow Nationalists' was with 'the burghers of the South African Republics in the gallant stand they are making in a cause which is so closely akin to our own'.<sup>114</sup> As a consequence of the feelings generated, the 'Dublin Fusilier Boer War memorial ... was to become known to Republicans as "Traitors' Arch"'.<sup>115</sup>

### *Case Studies conclusion*

Both these memorials recognised individual deaths, irrespective of cause, even though between them there were well over one thousand names to be either cast in bronze or chiselled in stone. Rank was mentioned in both instances but hierarchy only in the London example. Siting in each case was of paramount importance, needing, in the London case, the approval of the monarch and, in the Dublin case, that of the municipal authority. Secularism was an important element in both unveilings as were

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Collins, *Who Fears To Speak Of '98*, 47.

<sup>114</sup> *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* – Wednesday, 18 July 1900.

<sup>115</sup> Collins, *Who Fears To Speak Of '98*, 47.

echoes of a distant past in memorial design. In these respects, both examples reflected general trends, but they also indicate evidence of a darker mood.

Great care had been taken, at both sites, to provide a meaningful and graceful memorial yet it seems inevitable that immediate disillusion should have set in. The cost of the Fusilier's Arch amounted to £1,930 0s. 2d. leaving a fund balance of just £25 5s. 10d. for distribution to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society, the Veterans' Club and the Labour Yard.<sup>116</sup> It was hardly enough to make much difference to the lot of those who had returned from South Africa to Dublin to find that work was unavailable. Along similar lines, 'artists', 'military clubland' and 'the man in the street' were all said to regard London's Artillery Memorial as 'a failure'.<sup>117</sup> The 'war horse' could not be accepted as such by 'any competent authority'; the bas-relief guns were 'out of straight'; the 'attitude of the gunners [was] lacking in action', and the 'surmounting group' was a 'meaningless [and] hopeless muddle'.<sup>118</sup> The immediate effect of both memorials therefore seems to have contributed toward a feeling of post-war pessimism. It is of interest that no such pessimism has been found in schools. In some cases, there were disagreements as to the form memorialisation should take but once decided upon the results were widely and enthusiastically accepted. In design and content, however, the public-sphere case-study memorials find echoes with those found in schools.

<sup>116</sup> *Weekly Irish Times* – Saturday 5 October 1907

<sup>117</sup> *Globe and Traveller* – Wednesday evening, 27 July 1910.

<sup>118</sup> *Globe and Traveller* – Wednesday evening, 27 July 1910.

### *Chapter Conclusion*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century heroic subjects for statuary took the form of an instantly recognisable figure, such as Viscount Nelson, but by mid-century a change had taken place. The Guards' memorial discussed on pages seventy-six/seventy-eight must rank, from its size and prominent position in the capital, as one of the major memorials constructed in the wake of the Crimean War. The three guardsmen represent different regiments, but they are anonymous individuals and, despite the fact that the Grenadiers are the most senior brigade of the Guards, the three men on the memorial are depicted on equal footing. Neither are they separated by rank. They are unnamed, unspecified, representatives of all of those Guards who died, irrespective of rank and particular regiment. Memorialisation was no longer the sole preserve of stratum and status.

The second major change is in the recognition of the individual. The crowd of unnamed soldiers seen supporting Colonel the Honourable Henry Cadogan at St. Paul's had, largely, been replaced, following Crimea, by the long list of individual names such as those mentioned at the Cathedrals of Leicester and Carlisle. Recognition had shifted to include, alongside the great and the good, the most junior ranking combatant, together with those of all ranks in between. It was also *death in war* which was being remembered in the Crimean memorials. No later example of the Billinge obelisk, which listed *survivors* of the Napoleonic Wars has been found. Additionally, there are fewer examples of memorials to those who died long *after* the wars in which they were engaged, but whose relatives thought their past military career and connections important to mention.

During the nineteenth century, a great number of churches were built throughout Britain as a result of population growth and denominational rivalry. Stained-glass was much in demand and its suitability for commemorative purposes accounts for the increase shown on page seventy-two. The installation of a stained-glass window in a church or chapel would, of course, be likely accompanied by a religious ceremony of some kind. In instances of other memorials studied, however, religion seems to have played little or no part in the proceedings. Celebration of victory and the opportunity to create a festive atmosphere in which those involved could take a break from their normal routine, appears to have been much more the order of the day. It will have been noted, in this context, that the charts appearing on pages sixty-four and seventy-one show 'religion undefined' as a very substantial element in the make-up of each graphic.

Straightforward utilitarian memorials, such as the memorial hall at Burnham Thorpe, and the almshouses at Dunblane, were seen following the Napoleonic Wars but by mid-century it was also recognised that memorial objects could be in other formats. The fountain at Thorne and the house with lands at Usk are good examples. The use of trophies was a particular feature of Crimean memorials, occasioned by the capture of a large number of Russian guns at Sebastopol and their subsequent shipment back to England for distribution throughout the British Isles and beyond. The ways in which these, and other, pieces of ordnance were used to construct memorials, for instance in the case of Captain Peel at Southsea, confirms that the available range was being considered and expanded. The third major change was in the increased use of symbolism and allegory. Winchester College used figures representing *Faith*, *Virtue*, *Knowledge*, *Temperance*, *Patience* and *Charity* in their Crimean memorial – all

instantly recognisable characteristics to be ideally inculcated in their pupils. Westminster School managed to incorporate, in its mid-century memorial, emblems stressing the unity of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland; a lion and an eagle representing war; and the heroic figure of St. George slaying a dragon. St. George, again an instantly recognisable and mythological figure, whether or not accompanied by the dragon, would become a favourite memorial subject in the twentieth century even though, by that time, art was generally tending toward abstract, nonrepresentational, nonfigurative forms. George will form the basis for much further discussion in Chapters Four and Six. Both Winchester and Westminster also understood, at the time of Crimean and Indian Mutiny commemoration, the desirability of correctly positioning their memorials. Dean's Yard at Westminster and the chapel porch at Winchester were, still are, locations in each school which pupils pass through on a daily basis. Memorials at Harrow, Eton and Cheltenham were placed in similar prominent positions where schoolboys would be constantly reminded of duty, loyalty and honour.

Within schools, as well as within the wider community, it was found that traditional forms of memorialisation, sometimes echoing very ancient traditions, were likely to be the most effective and successful. War in nineteenth-century Britain was understood not in its grim reality but as something noble, righteous, worthwhile, and uplifting. Against that background, the efforts of the dead could be increasingly perceived as worthwhile, self-sacrificial and contributing to a higher purpose. The bereaved would find comfort in such ideas whilst army regiments could take pride in the scale and depth of their sacrifice for the greater good. Patriotism could be stirred by thoughts of comradeship, brotherhood and solidarity. Even the problems of a

socially- and economically-divided society might be temporarily overcome by the portrayal of equality in sacrifice and reminders of the fact that the noble and humble, knowledgeable and uneducated, rich and poor, lay, united in a common cause, in foreign soil. It would be these ideas which precipitated a large increase in memorialisation in the early years of the twentieth century. The *United Kingdom War Memorials Register* and the *Irish War Memorials Project* together list almost five times as many memorials to the South African War dead as to the Crimean, despite casualty numbers having been similar. Public and Private Schools, where duty, loyalty and honour were the order of the day, and where it was thought desirable to constantly remind future generations of these qualities, very much followed the trend. In the wake of the mid-nineteenth-century conflicts, those responsible for the planning, execution and positioning of memorials had become well aware of the messages which would be conveyed. Those messages could sometimes be deliberately provoking, as in the decision to erect the Dublin Fusiliers' memorial on a particularly sensitive site. They could also be subtly used in the reporting of events. It will have been noted that *The Times* reported that subscription was eagerly taken up by *loyalists* of all classes,<sup>119</sup> whilst *Irish Times* emphasised membership of the *Empire*.<sup>120</sup> The Fourth Estate could also heavily influence the public view and acceptance, or rejection, of a memorial as it began to see itself as a watchdog on architectural and aesthetic qualities. Its rejection of the Guards' monument as an 'unsightly' 'eyesore', and its endorsement of the Westminster School Column as 'original, intelligible and picturesque', were comments clearly designed to sway public opinion.<sup>121</sup> As Ashplant, Dawson and

<sup>119</sup> Page ninety-two.

<sup>120</sup> Page ninety-six.

<sup>121</sup> Page eighty-three.

Roper observed, ‘wherever people undertake the tasks of mourning and reparation, a politics is *always* at work’.<sup>122</sup>

The meaning of messages would also, again with the help of the press, change over time. Examples in this chapter being in the Dublin summer of 1907, the London Spring of 1861 and the London Summer of 1910, when the needs of the unemployed living were questioned alongside the memorialisation of the dead and the very existence of memorials was being criticised. It was an early indication that disillusionment might be a legacy of war. As Polly Low and Graham Oliver remarked, ‘the present produces new forms of viewing the past’.<sup>123</sup>

Chapter six will carry the memorials discussion on toward World War One, but first this thesis will consider memorial commissioning, design, construction, and unveiling in public and private schools, against a background of relevant developments in the wider community. Immediately prior to doing so it will discuss a large number of school alumni who became Boer War combatants, casualties, and, subsequently, subjects of memorialisation. That particular topic is the sole subject of the next chapter.

<sup>122</sup> Ashplant, T.G., Dawson, G., and Roper, M., (2000) ‘The Politics Of War Memory And Commemoration: Contexts, Structures And Dynamics’, in Ashplant, T.G., Dawson, G., and Roper, M., (eds.) (2000) *The Politics Of War Memory And Commemoration*, London: Routledge. p.9.

<sup>123</sup> Low, P., and Oliver, G., (2012) ‘Comparing Cultures Of Commemoration In Ancient And Modern Societies in Low, P., Oliver, G., and Rhodes, P.J., (eds.) (2012) *Cultures Of Commemoration: War Memorials, Ancient And Modern*, Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy. p.2.

# Chapter Two

## *Men Memorialised*



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## *Chapter Two - Men Memorialised*

### *Introduction*

As a general rule, British public/private schools, in the early years of the twentieth century, were keen to commemorate any past pupils, teachers and/or staff who had died in war. The making of a memorial provided a number of opportunities. Firstly, the chance to honour those who had, in the eyes of the schools, given themselves for moral principles, standards and values held dear; secondly, to provide enduring visual reminders of those values for future generations of pupils, and thirdly, to spotlight past-pupil casualties of war as exemplars and heroes. In addition, some schools saw the opportunity to raise funds for the refurbishment, enhancement, improvement or extension of existing school facilities and to do so not only in remembrance of those who had died, but also, on the understanding that the new amenities would be associated with the noble ideas of country, empire and community for which the schools stood.

Quite apart from providing formal education, most of the schools in this study were concerned with the organisation of society, in terms of rank and status, and the establishment of a culture, within their boundaries, in which ideas and behaviours became almost identical. The schools consequently came to be institutions where political strategies were developed to cement their role in the supply of elite men who would provide leadership, particularly in the fields of government, militarism, and colonial administration. Their success in doing so is easily recognised as in, for example, the Salisbury ministry of November 1900-July 1902 where sixteen members of a Cabinet of nineteen were educated at public/private schools, the balance of three

having been schooled privately at home before entering university.<sup>1</sup> The schools were important agencies in maintaining a class hierarchy and it is therefore to be expected that they would use Boer War memorials to reinforce this role. As Donaldson eloquently remarked, they moulded 'the memory of their alumni's war service to reaffirm the validity of [the schools'] underlying principles and ethos'.<sup>2</sup>

Additional arguments in this chapter are that during the Boer War public/private school men were prepared to abandon the inculcated expectations of leadership and join army units at junior rank for reasons of adventure and a search for independent manliness. Also, that in joining those units they were, at least in some instances, exposed to a social contact which might have been discouraged at schools which considered their hierarchical standing to be above that of others.<sup>3</sup> In that regard it is argued that the edges of the Victorian and early-twentieth-century class structure were softened as a result of Boer War army service.

The choice of memorial – triumphal, commemorative, practical, didactic – made a statement on behalf of those by whom it was commissioned, and that aspect of memorialisation will be addressed in later sections of this thesis. What might be considered the raw material for memorialisation, however, is the men who perished, and the present chapter will discuss them in terms of class, rank, location, and the type of school which they attended. First though, a further word on the role of women.

<sup>1</sup> "Cabinet Changes." *Times*, 2 Nov. 1900, p. 7. *The Times Digital Archive*,

<http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/77AKA0>. Accessed 28 Sept. 2018. Also, ODNB.

<sup>2</sup> Donaldson, P., (2013) 'The Commemoration Of The South African War (1899-1902) In British Public Schools' in *History & Memory*, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press). vol. 25, no. 2, pp.32-65.

<sup>3</sup> See comments and table on page 145.

Women from British public/private schools, as mentioned in *Introduction*,<sup>4</sup> played a part in the South African War, and its aftermath, as hospital staff, missionaries, journalists and educationalists. North London Collegiate references several ex-pupils in the pages of its magazine. Annie Frances Taylor, for instance, worked for the Relief Fund of the Society of Friends and spent ‘over a year in one of the Concentration Camps’, in South Africa, ‘taking charge of a number of Boer orphans’.<sup>5</sup> Edith Aitken started Pretoria High School in 1902 and retired twenty-one years later, having taken the school from ‘a hundred girls, of whom three only were boarders’, to five hundred girls, ‘including eighty-four boarders’.<sup>6</sup> Eleanor Johnson went to South Africa in August 1900 and nursed Boer prisoners as well as British soldiers in various military camp hospitals;<sup>7</sup> Annie Lane worked as a nurse in South Africa from 1879 and became Matron in a Leper Hospital;<sup>8</sup> Kathleen Despard went out in June 1900 as a Sister in the Army Nursing Service Reserve,<sup>9</sup> and Lucy Williams became the Matron at the hospital in Port Elizabeth.<sup>10</sup> Millicent Fawcett, who attended a girls’ boarding school at Blackheath, south London, led the ‘Concentration Camps Commission’ which reported to parliament in 1902.<sup>11</sup>

At Cheltenham Ladies’ College, many close relatives of the girls were involved in the South African war and casualty lists were posted in the school magazine. Girls sewed

<sup>4</sup> Page 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Our Magazine* – Magazine of North London Collegiate School for Girls. March 1915, p.11.

<sup>6</sup> *Our Magazine* – Magazine of North London Collegiate School for Girls. January 1924, p.21.

<sup>7</sup> *Our Magazine* – Magazine of North London Collegiate School for Girls. March 1902, p.16.

<sup>8</sup> *Our Magazine* – Magazine of North London Collegiate School for Girls. July 1901, p.57.

<sup>9</sup> *Our Magazine* – Magazine of North London Collegiate School for Girls. March 1901, p.27.

<sup>10</sup> *Our Magazine* – Magazine of North London Collegiate School for Girls. March 1901, p.27.

<sup>11</sup> Fawcett, Millicent Garrett, Concentration Camps Commission. *Report on the concentration camps in South Africa, by the Committee of Ladies appointed by the Secretary of State for War; containing reports on the camps in Natal, the Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal*, Parliamentary Session:1902. Paper number Cd. 893.

and knitted for the troops and for the children of refugees. Their headmistress, Dorothea Beale, told them, at an address in 1902, that ‘above all in Africa there is a call for any number of brave, reliable, sober-minded women’.<sup>12</sup> Flora Shaw, later Lady Lugard, had no formal schooling but ‘became the first woman on the permanent staff of *The Times* and its colonial editor from 1893 to 1900’.<sup>13</sup> She took a keen interest in South African affairs and doubtless inspired many late-Victorian school girls to respond to suggestions made by the likes of Miss Beale. Women then are remembered in magazines, but it was men who died in the war and they will now be discussed under the headings mentioned at the foot of page 105.

### *Class*

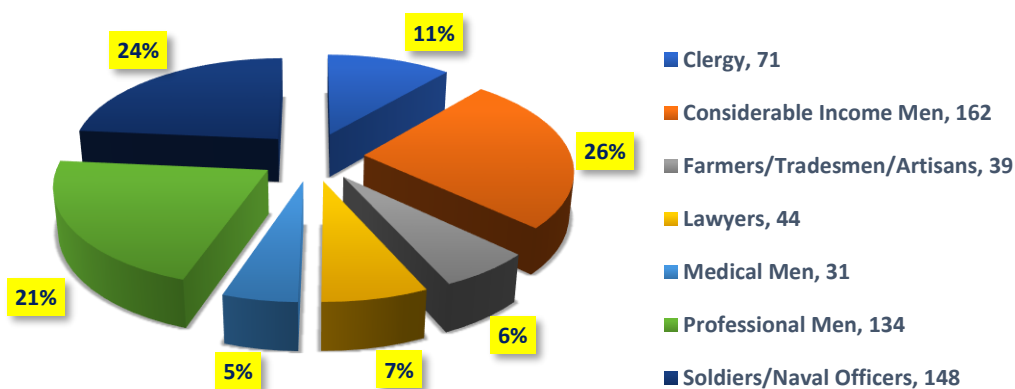
British Victorian Society was divided by class and the recommendations of a Commission of Enquiry into Education, dated 1868, made certain that schools would continue to mirror a class structure. That Commission, chaired by Lord Taunton, proposed three grades of school be established to cater for children whose fathers belonged to one or other of three levels of social status. He described the first social echelon as comprising ‘men with considerable incomes independent of their own exertions’, ‘professional men’ and those whose business ‘profits put them on the same level’.<sup>14</sup> The second group he defined as being composed of ‘the great majority of professional men’, ‘the clergy’, ‘medical men’, ‘lawyers’ and the ‘poorer gentry’ whilst the third, ‘a class distinctly lower in the scale’, was made up of ‘smaller tenant farmers,

<sup>12</sup> Clarke, A.K., (1979) *A History Of The Cheltenham Ladies’ College 1853-1979*, third edition, London: Faber and Faber Limited. p.81.

<sup>13</sup> Dorothy O. Helly, Helen Callaway, ‘Lugard, Dame Flora Louise, Lady Lugard (1852–1929)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38618, [accessed 9 Aug 2017].

<sup>14</sup> *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* [Online], Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. I, 1868, Report of the Commissioners. p. 16.

small tradesmen' and 'superior artisans'.<sup>15</sup> Taunton also identified a class below this last category which, he commented, 'would probably not care much for any education at all' – an interesting comment, given that the Endowed Schools Act was introduced the following year.<sup>16</sup> The progenitors, certainly of ex-public/private-, if not ex-private- school-boys, being discussed in this chapter were members, almost exclusively, of Taunton's first and second social groupings. The parental occupations of 629 of the ex-public/private schoolboys investigated here have been established and all but 'soldier' and 'naval-officer' can be easily fitted into Taunton's descriptions.<sup>17</sup> Later in his report, however, Taunton described the second grade of school as preparing youths for 'business', 'manufactures', 'several professions', 'many departments of the civil service' and 'the army', thus indicating that he regarded as 'professional men' those who had adopted a military career.<sup>18</sup> The parental occupational groups appear in graphic form below.



**Parental occupations of 629 of the men memorialised**

<sup>15</sup> *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* [Online], Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. I, 1868, Report of the Commissioners. p.17.

<sup>16</sup> *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* [Online], Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. I, 1868, Report of the Commissioners. p.20.

<sup>17</sup> Parental occupations have been established by reference to census returns and, in the case of some of those born overseas, to BMD records.

<sup>18</sup> *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* [Online], Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. I, 1868, Report of the Commissioners. pp.83-84.

The men whom this investigation has found memorialised at British and Irish public/private schools consequently came largely from a particular class background and the class to which they belonged was maintained as a result of Taunton's mid-nineteenth-century educational proposals. A sometime leader of the British Labour Party, Neil Kinnock, was to comment, over one-hundred years later, that public schools were responsible for the 'demarcation of privilege, status, esteem, power, opportunity and expectation' found in British society and that, rather than being 'incidental' to the class system', they were 'the very cement in the wall' which created those divisions.<sup>19</sup> Kinnock identified 'increments of status', 'quaint uniforms', 'traditions', 'language' and 'accents' as the means of perpetually imposing class separation and many of these elements can be found in the backgrounds of the ex-public/private schoolboys and in the military environment into which service in the Boer War was to place them.<sup>20</sup>

During the course of this investigation the family backgrounds of 543 schoolboy-soldiers have been identified, by reference to census and Births, Marriages and Deaths (BMD) returns, and at individual points in time those families, between them, employed 3,120 servants – an average of almost six per household. Housemaids, parlour-maids, nurses and cooks were commonplace, but footmen, butlers and governesses were also employed as were boys to run errands and open doors.

Many of the soldiers came from distinguished families. Archibald West, for example, who attended All Hallows, Honiton, was the son of a Lieutenant-Colonel and grandson

<sup>19</sup> Kinnock, Neil (1981) Private Schools, News Release, Labour Party, 31 July as cited in Walford, G., (ed.) (1984) *British Public Schools Policy And Practice*, (Lewes, East Sussex: The Falmer Press), pp. 1 and 8

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

of Admiral Sir John West, whilst Victor Keith-Falconer, late of Charterhouse, was the grandson of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Kintore. Eleven of the boys investigated were sons of Members of Parliament whilst the fathers of a further twenty-three attended the House of Lords. These family backgrounds indicate privilege and membership of an upper class whilst the system of prefects, where disciplinary powers were awarded to some older boys, and fagging, where junior boys were supervised by, and performed chores for, senior scholars, established a class divide within public/private schools. That divide was reinforced by practices such as allowing variations to school uniform for senior pupils, and the introduction of special-name terms for new boys, prefects, masters, houses, and the like, into an individual school's vocabulary, so as to set it apart from other, similar, institutions. As ex-public/private schoolboys moved through their school careers they progressed from being obliged to accept orders to being granted authority to issue them, even to the point where they could cane younger boys, the rationale being that such experiences would prepare senior pupils 'to command a battalion or administer a colony' once schooling was complete.<sup>21</sup> It was taken for granted that boys in public/private schools would, by virtue of their class, progress to positions of responsibility and the only debate as to the amount of it which should be conferred whilst at school was whether the qualification should come about as a result of scholarly or athletic prowess. The notion of a hierarchical society was also introduced early, as demonstrated in University College School's rule that 'punishments' would just comprise 'loss of rank'.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Honey, J.R. de S., (1977) *Tom Brown's Universe: The Development Of The Victorian Public School*, (London: Millington Books Limited), p.120.

<sup>22</sup> Felkin, F.W., (1909) *From Gower Street To Frognal: A Short History Of University College School From 1830 to 1907*, (London: Arnold Fairbairns & Company Ltd.), p.7.

The 217 schools covered by this study have been selected either because they were known, from literary sources, to have commissioned Boer War memorials or because they were the kind of school which might have been expected, from ethical and/or financial standpoints, to do so, had they lost former pupils in the conflict. Of that number, 150 certainly suffered loss but the comment 'we do not keep records of what our past pupils get up to when they leave school', received from one establishment, leads to the supposition that the actual total number might be rather more.<sup>23</sup> Most of the 150 schools were 'public/private' and attracted members of the privileged class, but one school, Gordon Boys', representative of a 'private' school can be juxtaposed with a 'public/private' example, in this case Bedford Grammar, to indicate that a substantial social gulf existed between the two categories.

Gordon's was founded, by public subscription, in 1886 as a memorial to General Gordon of Khartoum, who had been killed the previous year, and its stated purpose was to provide education for 'necessitous' boys.<sup>24</sup> Fourteen of them died in the Boer War and were commemorated by a plaque placed in the school's chapel. The backgrounds of these boys were very different to those already discussed. Jesse Mudd, for example, was living with his mother, and siblings, at the Allhallowgate Workhouse, in Yorkshire, at the time of the 1881 census,<sup>25</sup> whilst William Crowdy's widowed mother earned her living as a laundress.<sup>26</sup> William Horn, another ex-Gordon's boy, was born at Fort Hubberstone, Pembrokeshire, where his father was an

<sup>23</sup> Lonergan, Roisin (rlonergan@newbridge-college.ie), 2012. *Re Boer War*. 9 November. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>24</sup> *Gordon's School* [Online], Available: <http://www.gordons.surrey.sch.uk/> [October – November 2014].

<sup>25</sup> TNA. Archive reference RG11, Piece number 4317, Folio 84, Page 37.

<sup>26</sup> TNA. Archive reference RG11, Piece number 589, Folio 115, Page 35.



Artillery gunner,<sup>27</sup> prior to being invalided out of service at the age of forty-two suffering from 'paralysis agitans' (Parkinson's disease) – a condition possibly related to syphilis, for which he had been treated earlier in his military career.<sup>28</sup> Young Horn joined his father's regiment at the age of fifteen years and six months. At attestation, he was noted, by the army's examining medical officer, to have '939 F11' tattooed on his right forearm,<sup>29</sup> – 939 being his school number at Gordon's.<sup>30</sup> Crowdy also had his school number, 553, tattooed on his right arm as well as a Ship, together with 'EM', on his left and a Cross on his chest.<sup>31</sup> Crowdy's mother was named Emma,<sup>32</sup> so those letters, being a diminutive form of the name, may have been to remind him of his parent whilst far from home on army business. George Walker, also of Gordon's, had 'F1', 'Cross' and 'Stone' marks on his arm:<sup>33</sup> many other military colleagues of these men carried tattoos. No such marks, however, have been found by this investigation in the attestation records of any ex-public/private schoolboys. Tattoos were frowned upon by Tom Brown's headmaster in the novel by Thomas Hughes,<sup>34</sup> and, although that character was fictitious, it was modelled on the actual head of Rugby School whose spirit, in the words of Mangan, 'pervades the book'.<sup>35</sup> Tattoos were associated with a criminal class in a House of Lords debate on the topic as late as 1969,<sup>36</sup> so those found in abundance amongst Gordon's boys and their colleagues, but absent amidst

<sup>27</sup> TNA. Archive reference RG11, Piece number 5415, Folio 139, Page 23.

<sup>28</sup> TNA. British Army Service Records 1760-1915, Box 3089, Box Record Number 23.

<sup>29</sup> TNA. British Army Service Records 1760-1915, WO97-973089051.

<sup>30</sup> Willgoss, Carole (secretary-oga@gordons.surrey.sch.uk), 2013. Boer War 1899-1902. 18 January. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>31</sup> TNA. Militia Service Records 1806-1915, Box 133, Box Record Number 434.

<sup>32</sup> TNA. Archive reference RG11, Piece number 26, Folio 87, Page 13.

<sup>33</sup> TNA. WO 363. British Army Service Records 1914-1920.

<sup>34</sup> Hughes, T., (1869) *Tom Brown's Schooldays By An Old Boy*, (London: Macmillan & Co.), p.248.

<sup>35</sup> Mangan, J.A., (1986) *Athleticism In The Victorian And Edwardian Public School*, (Lewes: The Falmer Press), p.57.

<sup>36</sup> *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* [Online], Speech by Lord Robertson of Oakridge Monday, 28<sup>th</sup> April 1969.

investigated public/private-school men, were consequently an indicator of class in the period leading up to the second Boer War.

Bedford School was licensed by letters patent in 1552, during the reign of Edward VI, granting the 'Mayor, Bailiffs and Commonalty of the Town of Bedford' permission to erect a Grammar School 'for the education, institution and instruction of Boys and Youths in Grammar, Literature and good Manners'.<sup>37</sup> It lost twenty-two alumni in the South African War and erected a tablet, of 'burnished gun-metal and onyx', beneath a stained-glass window in their memory.<sup>38</sup> Amongst the parents of those men were army majors, clergy, a land agent, property owner, naval officer, judge, merchant, and member of Lloyd's Underwriters. The parents of one boy, Eustace Harris, employed a nurse, nursemaid, cook and housemaid,<sup>39</sup> whilst those of another, Alick England, included a governess, cook, housemaid, nurse and laundress in their household.<sup>40</sup> The backgrounds of the Bedford-boys were very similar to those of many other ex-public/private schoolboys covered by this study, but they are in sharp contrast to the social circumstances of Mudd, Crowdy, Horn and Walker, four of those who attended Gordon's School.

In addition to the Royal Artillery (William Horn's regiment) Gordon-boys joined, for example, the King's Royal Rifle Corps (KRRC) and the Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders (A&SH) and they signed on, as soldiers of the lowest rank, for a twelve-year period – seven years with the colours and five in the reserve. Some ex-

<sup>37</sup> De-la-Noy, M., (1999) *Bedford School A History 1552-2002*, (Bedford: Bedford School), p.1.

<sup>38</sup> Gildea, J., (1911) *For Remembrance And In Honour Of Those Who Lost Their Lives In The South African War 1899-1902*, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode Ltd), p.3.

<sup>39</sup> TNA. Archive reference RG11, Piece number 1574, Folio 35, Page 33.

<sup>40</sup> TNA. Archive reference RG10, Piece number 4157, Folio 5, Page 4.

public/private schoolboys, who chose the army as a *career*, also joined those units, but as commissioned officers. The practice of purchasing commissions had been abolished under the Cardwell reforms of 1871 so that promotion was subsequently acquired on merit rather than through influence and money. The lifestyle of an officer, however, particularly when he was overseas and engaging in such pursuits as 'pig-sticking, big-game shooting' and 'playing polo' required a certain level of financial independence and background.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, reform among army officers was, as Tucker has remarked, 'limited by practices and institutions in society itself' so that for the duration of time an officer was expected also to be a gentleman, it was almost essential that he was of the upper class and had been public/private-school educated.<sup>42</sup>

Typical of a *career* soldier was Harrow-tutored Major Henry William Denne-Denne, of the Gordon Highlanders (right) who perished at the Battle of Elandslaagt on Saturday 21<sup>st</sup> October 1899. He was photographed in his military dress uniform and a copy of the image is held in the school's memorial archives. It is reproduced on the following page.<sup>43</sup>

Near to his left side the Major wears the Khedive's Bronze Star, denoting his involvement at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir in 1882, and, to its right the Egyptian War Medal with additional clasps for El Teb and Tamai, plus a further clasp for the Soudan Expedition of 1884/85. Major Denne-Denne went on to serve in Malta and then the

<sup>41</sup> Pemberton, W.B., (1964) *Battles of The Boer War*, (London: B.T. Batsford), p.31.

<sup>42</sup> Tucker, A.V., (1963) 'Army And Society In England 1870-1900: A Reassessment Of The Cardwell Reforms' in *Journal of British Studies*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). vol. 2, no. 2, pp.110-141.

<sup>43</sup> Photographed at, and with the permission of, Harrow School, on Monday 11<sup>th</sup> June 2012.

East Indies following his marriage, in Cheshire, on Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> July 1889 during a home posting.<sup>44</sup>



All of the *volunteer* public/private school men, whose military records have been traced by this study, enlisted as private soldiers, but the units they joined were quite dissimilar to the previously mentioned KRRC and A&SH. The volunteer's term of enlistment was for 'one year or not less than the duration of the war' – an attractive period of engagement announced by the War Office in late 1899 and aimed at those seeking short-term adventure and an opportunity to engage in, what ex-public/private schoolboys would have regarded as, their patriotic duty. It was a measure which appears to have been adopted with the specific intention of attracting these types of men, some of whom had previously volunteered for military service at home. Macauley Kerans of Ayr Academy, for instance, had served in the Ayrshire Yeomanry prior to joining the army on a full-time basis in January 1900,<sup>45</sup> whilst Cecil Bewes,

<sup>44</sup> TNA. Series reference WO76/439 Page number 34.

<sup>45</sup> TNA. Series reference WO128-128001001. Box 0005. Record 192.

of Blundell's School, who also joined that January, had formerly served with a Devonshire volunteer brigade.<sup>46</sup>

Volunteer military regiments had been formed early in the nineteenth century to enhance home defences and they became collectively known as Yeomanry. The units into which the ex-public/private schoolboys now enlisted belonged to the Imperial Yeomanry, set up specifically for overseas service in South Africa, and to attract members of existing Yeomanry brigades. Recruits in the Imperial Yeomanry were required to provide 'their own 'horses, clothing, saddlery and accoutrement',<sup>47</sup> and should be marksmen and able horsemen. The new requirements ensured that applicants were of a certain financial standing and had received the benefit of an education which included instruction in the use of firearms, and/or the opportunity to ride and hunt. Appropriately targeted advertisements to join Imperial Yeomanry units were posted at gentlemen's clubs as well as in *The Times*, and, in the case of the 51<sup>st</sup> Company of Yeomanry, known as Paget's Horse, applicants were additionally required to 'furnish satisfactory references as to their social position'.<sup>48</sup> Richard Price maintains that the Yeomanry contained 'some of the most glamorous of the units that fought in South Africa',<sup>49</sup> and Cosmo Rose-Innes confirms Paget's Horse to be in that category by writing, in his 1901 memoir, 'we are gentlemen riders, quaffing the stirrup-cup, and bending to the saddle-bow in a long farewell to the ladies of our love'.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> TNA. Series reference WO128-128004246. Box 0021. Record 235.

<sup>47</sup> "Index." *Times* [London, England] 20 Dec. 1899: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 21 Aug. 2014.

<sup>48</sup> "Paget's Horse." *Times* [London, England] 23 Feb. 1900: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 9 Jan. 2015.

<sup>49</sup> Price, R., (1972) *An Imperial War And The British Working Class: Class Attitudes And Reactions To The Boer War 1899-1902*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p.180.

<sup>50</sup> Rose-Innes, C., (1901) *With Paget's Horse To The Front*, London: John Macqueen.

Recruits joining elite colonial units as volunteers also faced the same strict entry requirements as Yeomanry regiments. Major-General Baden-Powell's South African Constabulary, by way of illustration, required aspiring entrants to be 'recommended by at least two persons in responsible positions' and pass a test in 'riding and shooting'.<sup>51</sup> The individuals who joined the Imperial Yeomanry saw themselves as gentlemen and some described their employment situations in this way in the occupation section of their army attestation form. Others entered the word 'none', presumably as an indication that they had no particular need for work. Those actual employments which were entered to the forms – barrister, bank-official, engineer, schoolmaster, and the like – indicate that the holders had found places in civilian life which reflected their class background at both home and school. Price confirms this indication when concluding, from a wide analysis of declared occupations, that the social composition of 27,304 Yeomanry members was 42% 'non-working class'.<sup>52</sup>

Henry De Burgh, an old Harrovian, was killed at Wepener, a village on the border with Basutoland, on Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> May 1900, whilst serving with the Yeomanry.<sup>53</sup> His photograph, reproduced overleaf, was taken during the 1890s and at a time when Henry, judging by his flamboyant attire, was a gentleman of leisure, possibly looking for experience, excitement, and an escape from, what John Tosh terms, 'the constraints of domesticity' in the 'men-only sphere' of empire.<sup>54</sup> His insouciant pose – one hand in pocket and the other steadying a walking cane, of which he seemingly had no

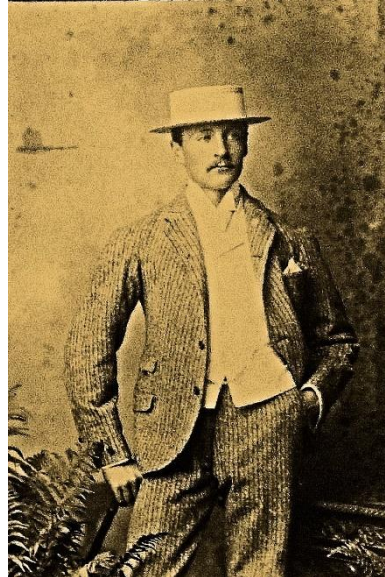
<sup>51</sup> General Baden-Powell's Police. *The Times* (London, England), Wednesday, Nov 14, 1900; pg. 10; Issue 36299.

<sup>52</sup> Price, *An Imperial War And The British Working Class*, p. 258.

<sup>53</sup> TNA. Anglo-Boer War records 1899-1902. Rolls WO100/241, pp. 20 and 26.

<sup>54</sup> Tosh, J., (2005) 'Masculinities In An Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800–1914 in *The Journal of British Studies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Vol. 44, Issue 02, April 2005, pp.330-342.

physical need, is suggestive of one who might also be on the lookout for an element of adventure, risk, and even danger. He was to find all three, in abundance, at Wepener and he typifies the affluent gentlemen volunteers.<sup>55</sup>



**Henry De Burgh, killed at Wepener Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> May 1900**

Of the twenty-two Bedford School ex-public/private schoolboys who perished, eight were career officers, one a sergeant in the regular army and thirteen volunteers in elite units. Of the fourteen Gordon's School ex-private schoolboys who died, and for whom no photographic record has been traced, all were regular soldiers of the lowest rank. Evidence of class, then, is demonstrated throughout these men's lives, from conditions at home, through the school system, and into either a temporary or more permanent place in military service. Those who had chosen the army as a career had entered a hierarchical system where the notion of class was underpinned by rank and it is to this topic that the chapter will now turn its attention.

<sup>55</sup> Photographed at, and with the permission of, Harrow School, on Monday 11<sup>th</sup> June 2012.

### *Rank*

There was no conscription in Britain prior to the passing of the 1916 Military Service Act so that anyone serving in the army at the time of the second Boer War was either a short-term volunteer or else a career soldier. Those schools being studied certainly provided the army with a great number of officers and many public/private schoolboys who chose a military career did so in the firm expectation that they would be members of the army's commissioned ranks. The system of army hierarchy suited these individuals well, having been previously prepared for such an environment both at home and at school. Nineteenth-century census returns, for such households, tell the story of an ordered, and hierarchic, society where the Head of Family is usually male and the sequence on the form runs wife, or closest relative, children (usually in descending order of age), visitors, if any, and a list of servants, in such seniority order as, for example, governess or housekeeper through butler or footman to kitchen- and scullery- maids. In school, the pattern was the same. At Clifton College in 1881, for instance, the sequence on the census return was headmaster, a widower, followed by his sister, children, and assistant master. Pupils of the school came next with matron, cook, maids of various description, and page boys completing the return in that order.

Prior to the reforms instituted by Britain's Secretary of State for War, Edward Cardwell, in the early 1870s, army officers in all infantry and cavalry regiments were able to purchase their commissions. Commissions in the Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery were awarded on graduation from the Military Academy at Woolwich but those who had bought their army position tended to look down on those who had not, considering them to be somewhat lacking in the qualities which entitled an individual to be regarded as a gentleman. The sale of commissions ensured that many army officers were men of means, with the result that the social composition of their



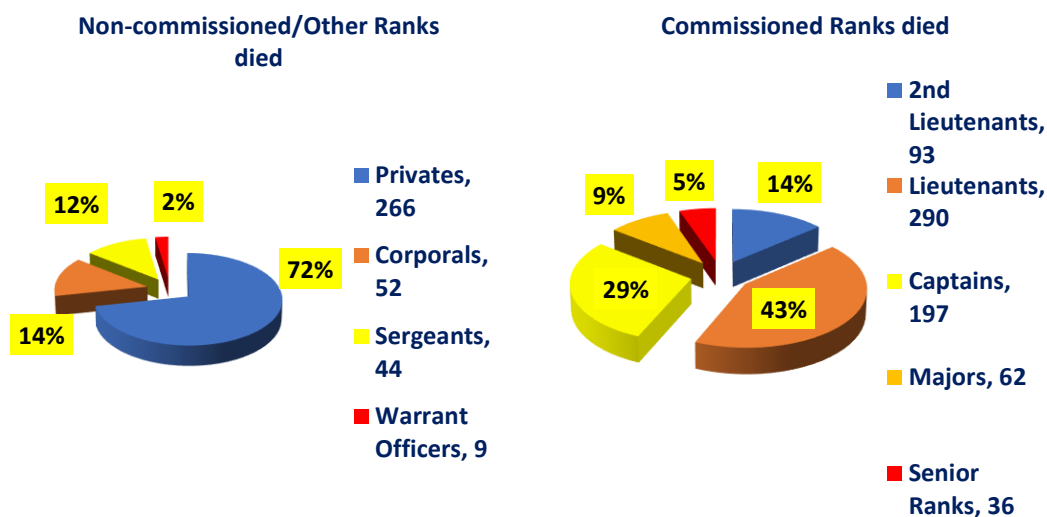
regiments was maintained over time. Edward Spiers contends that the Cardwell reforms had little impact on the social standing of late Victorian officers. He argues that as some 'old-established families lost their fortunes and vacated their estates', their place on the land was taken by those who had made money in 'industry, commerce or speculation' and that the newcomers saw military service as a way in which their descendants, seeking 'recognition of their respectability and entrée into the activities and gatherings of county society', could gain local approval.<sup>56</sup> Rank, therefore, remained an indicator of social position throughout the nineteenth century and was the reason ex-public/private schoolboys who sought an army career aspired to spend it as an officer, and thus be also perceived as a gentleman. It is worth again emphasising, just prior to discussing the army ranks of the 1,262 casualties covered by this investigation, that those of similar background who sacrificed that ambition, by joining army units as a soldier of the lowest rank, *only* did so on the understanding that they were entering elite organisations and for just a short period of time.

Turning to the positions of those 1,262 individuals, then, an army rank has been established for 1,049 of them.<sup>57</sup> The balance is made up of 198 whose rank is unknown plus one missionary, three chaplains, seven surgeons, one clerk, one war-correspondent and two civilians, all of whom, whilst attached to military units, were not actual army personnel. Of those whose military rank has been determined, 371 were non-commissioned individuals whilst 678 were officers. Non-commissioned/other ranks consequently amounted to about one-third of the total,

<sup>56</sup> Spiers, E.M., (1992) *The Late Victorian Army 1868-1902*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p.94.

<sup>57</sup> Information regarding rank has been obtained either by reference to inscriptions on memorials; by tracing military records in the National Archives at Kew; by examining school records or by reference to British Army's *List Of Casualties In South African Field Force From 11<sup>th</sup> October, 1899 to 31<sup>st</sup> May, 1902*.

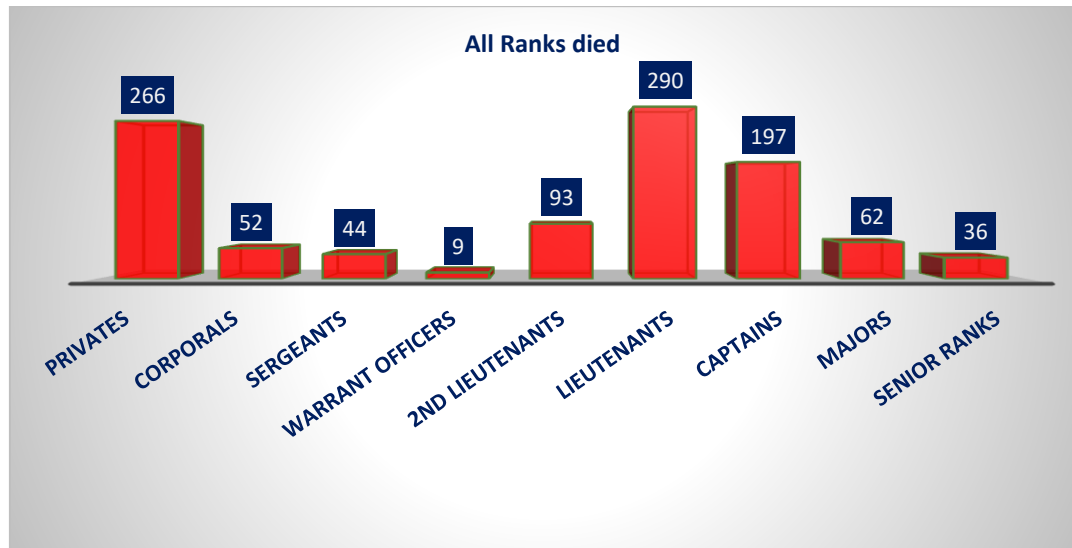
(reflecting the willingness to sacrifice rank for entry into an elite unit), whilst commissioned officers account for roughly two-thirds. In both categories, the larger number of men is to be found in the lower ranks, lieutenants in the case of officers, and privates in the case of rank and file, as demonstrated below. To simplify matters when presenting this information in graphic form, ranks have been categorised so that troopers, drivers, drummers, field dressers, linesmen, rangers, sappers and trumpeters have all been included with privates whilst acting-bombardiers and lance-corporals have been grouped with corporals. Commissioned-majors, of all descriptions, have been bracketed together as just 'majors' whilst sergeants-major, veterinary-sergeants, colour-, lance- and quarter-master-sergeants have been classified as warrant officers. Lieutenant-colonels and colonels, together with one lieutenant-general have been pigeonholed 'senior ranks'.<sup>58</sup> All of this information, together with the relevant statistics, has been entered to the two charts appearing below.



A chart of the complete make-up, by rank, of the 1,049 individuals whose military status has been identified follows and it is, of course, an amalgam of the diagrams

<sup>58</sup> These rank classifications, broadly, follow emblems of authority on the clothing of British Officers and Soldiers. [www.army.mod.uk/BritishArmyStructure](http://www.army.mod.uk/BritishArmyStructure) provides details.

given on the previous page. This new graphic reads left to right in order of military status and it will be noted, as already mentioned, that the majority category is lieutenant in the commissioned ranks (290), closely followed by private in the non-commissioned/other ranks (266). A comprehensive list, with totals, of the ranks in each category is included at Appendix C, page 363.



Rank played just as important a role in death as in life, but schools took different approaches to its inclusion, or omission, on their war memorials. The way in which they dealt with, what was clearly, a difficult and sensitive issue, speaks both of the general attitude of the time and that of individual institutions. Marlborough College, which lost forty-three alumni in the war and erected an eight-foot high tablet, in alabaster, to their memory, probably took the most popular and straightforward approach.<sup>59</sup> A colonel heads the list of names, followed by a brevet-major, ten captains, fifteen lieutenants, and six 2<sup>nd</sup>-lieutenants. A short break in the text then allows the non-commissioned ranks of quarter-master-sergeant, sergeant and corporal, followed by six privates and a field-dresser, to complete the list in that order. In compiling its record in this way, Marlborough afforded each individual their army

<sup>59</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 229.

designation whilst also recognising seniority. Eton College, which lost more past-pupils than any of the other schools in this study, recorded rank, full name, and regiment, against each of its 129 casualties. The names were inscribed on seven tablets, but the order appears random in that it follows no alphabetical pattern and, in one panel, a corporal follows a commissioned officer whilst, in another, a lieutenant is followed by a trooper. Even the commissioned ranks are mixed with one junior officer's name in the Eton list appearing above that of a lieutenant-colonel. In compiling its record, Eton was recognising the principal of equality of sacrifice.

Some schools, however, chose to completely ignore junior rank, presumably because they felt that the level of rank achieved by a past pupil could be seen as a reflection on the school itself. Officer rank automatically indicated a certain social standing and the higher the rank an individual achieved, the more success he was perceived to have enjoyed in his chosen career. Such success could be, at least in part, attributed to knowledge and skills acquired whilst at school, so some institutions were anxious to demonstrate they were capable of producing socially superior, and successful, military men. Harrow School seems, at first glance, to have recognised equality of sacrifice by listing names in (almost) alphabetical order both on the bronze tablets placed in its chapel and in a war memorial book held in its archives. On closer inspection, however, a description of rank has been omitted against five of the names and investigation reveals that three were private soldiers, one a trooper and one a clerk attached to the Army Service Corps.<sup>60</sup> All of the other names, fifty in total, have the individual's rank shown after his name but they were all commissioned officers. At Rossall School,

<sup>60</sup> TNA. Anglo-Boer War records, 1899-1902 compiled from the Natal Field Force (Oct 1899 to Oct 1900) and the South African Field Force (Oct 1899 to May 1902) Official Casualty Rolls.

Fleetwood, the Boer War memorial comprises a range of oak stalls set, mainly, against the north and south walls of the Chapel. At the back of the stalls are panels upon which are carved, in letters of red, the names of those seventeen Old Rossallians being remembered. The name *A.B. Bing* appears between those of *Lieut-Colonel Aldworth* and *Lieutenant Chelone*, with no mention of the fact that Bing was a trooper.<sup>61</sup> The name *W. Bowen* is sandwiched between *Lieutenant Williams-Ellis* and *Major Johnson-Smyth* with no recognition that Walter Bowen was a private soldier.<sup>62</sup> *N.L. Hankyard* is listed, on the panels, below *G.E. Curphy* with the additional explanation that Hankyard was of *C-in-C's Bodyguard* [and died] *at Charlestown*. Curphy's rank was private,<sup>63</sup> and Norman Hankyard was a trooper,<sup>64</sup> although the rank of neither is recorded.

Sedbergh School erected a cross mounted on a pedestal to commemorate its dead. On the east and west sides of the pedestal the names and rank of four commissioned officers are inscribed but on the south side are two names with no rank added. Research reveals that one was a lance-corporal and the other a private soldier.<sup>65</sup> Tonbridge, Sherborne and St Edward's Oxford Schools all followed the practice of adding rank to name only in the case of officers but perhaps the most pointed example of a school which seems to have wished its memorial to speak principally of quality and success, is Wellington College. That institution recorded the names of sixty-five dead on a tablet and preceded fifty-six of them with a description of officer rank. The Wellington list of casualties works its way down from lieutenant-colonels through

<sup>61</sup> TNA. Anglo-Boer War records, 1899-1902 compiled from the Natal Field Force (Oct 1899 to Oct 1900) and the South African Field Force (Oct 1899 to May 1902) Official Casualty Rolls. piece 39681.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., piece 18638.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., piece 39712.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., piece 49813.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pieces 7263 and 19911.

majors, captains, lieutenants and 2<sup>nd</sup>-lieutenants to nine individuals against whom no rank is shown but probing has uncovered the fact that they were all private soldiers. A note of each man's regiment appears on the Wellington tablet and six of the nine belonged to the Imperial Yeomanry. The Yeomanry, as already noted, was a volunteer force but that does not provide the institution's reason to omit rank, as one of the officers was also a Yeomanry member and his designation is recorded on the tablet. Further descriptions on Wellington's memorial such as *The Hon. A.D. Murray, H.H. Prince Christian Victor of Schleswig-Holstein* and *Sir E.D. Le Poer Power* reinforce the impression that the monument was designed as much to demonstrate the social standing of those enrolled at the College as to commemorate former pupils lost in war.

In some cases, schools which omitted rank seem only to have done so on foot of insufficient information. Aldenham School, Elstree, for example, has a wooden plaque erected in the dining hall and headed *Old Boys who served in the War 1899-1902*. Below that heading fifty-one names are listed together with the regiments to which the individuals were attached. Against only twenty-four of the names is shown an army rank and the school has no record of how the plaque came into being, nor of the fate of the men listed. Research unveils, however, that five of the men definitely died in the war – one of wounds, one killed-in-action and three of disease.<sup>66</sup> Thirteen certainly survived and for twelve of them service records are available which show details of their eventual discharge from the army. In all probability, the balance of thirty-three came through the war but existing military evidence is not strong enough to state that this is assuredly the case. The ranks listed on the plaque are both

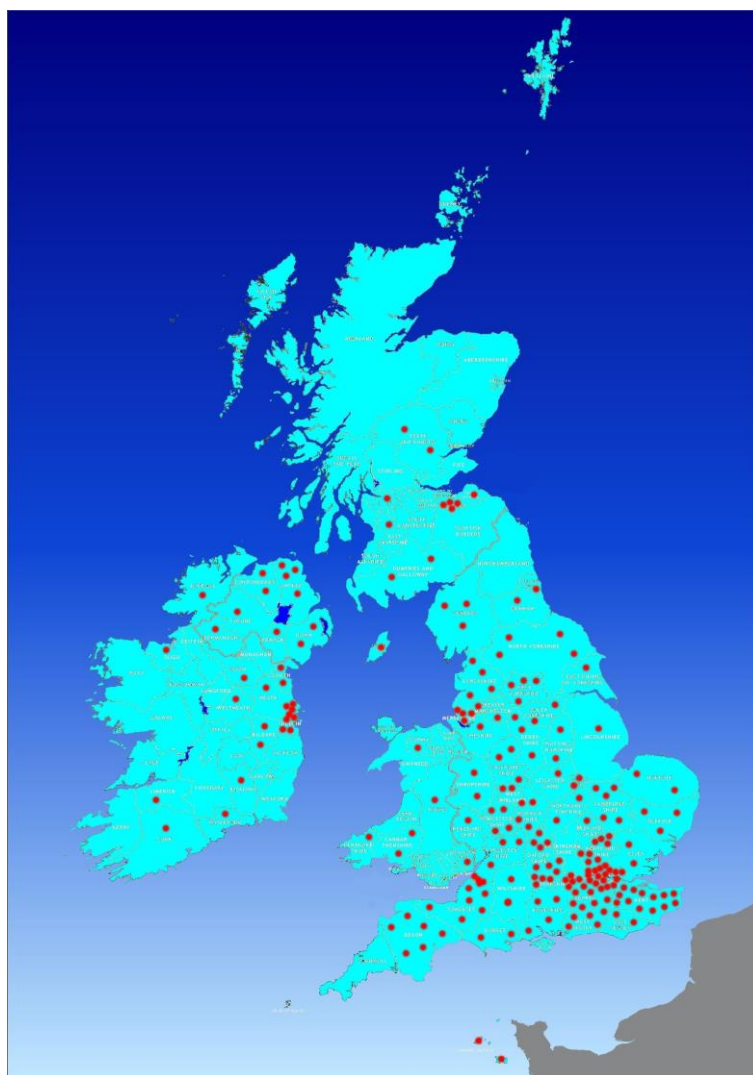
<sup>66</sup> TNA. Anglo-Boer War records, 1899-1902 compiled from the Natal Field Force (Oct 1899 to Oct 1900) and the South African Field Force (Oct 1899 to May 1902) Official Casualty Rolls.

commissioned and non-commissioned and they range from corporal to major. Investigation into those whose rank does not appear interestingly identifies at least eleven individuals who could have had the designation private, sapper or trooper added to their name.

Charterhouse placed a Brass Tablet in one of the bays of its new Memorial Cloister with just surname and initials inscribed. It could be imagined that the school had other detail which might have been added but the only exception made was the addition of the abbreviation *Hon.* before the name D.H. Marsham in recognition of the fact that he was the son of the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Romney. Winchester College was spared from having to take any difficult decisions as to the inclusion, or exclusion, of lower rank. All of that institution's thirty-two Boer War dead were commissioned officers and the College enumerated them in alphabetical order and included the date, manner and place of their demise. The only problem that some may have had with the result was that the list opened with the name of a lieutenant and closed with that of a captain. Even in instances where listing was straightforward, therefore, it was impossible not to run the risk of upsetting any to whom the issue of military status was important. The private schools studied had none of these problems. Both Gordon's and the London Orphan Asylum ignored military status altogether and listed regiment instead, as most, if not all, their ex-private schoolboys were, in any case, regular soldiers of non-commissioned rank. Away from the sensitive issue of rank, but with a connection to class, is the subject of location, and how that topic relates to the men memorialised will now be explored in detail.

### *Location*

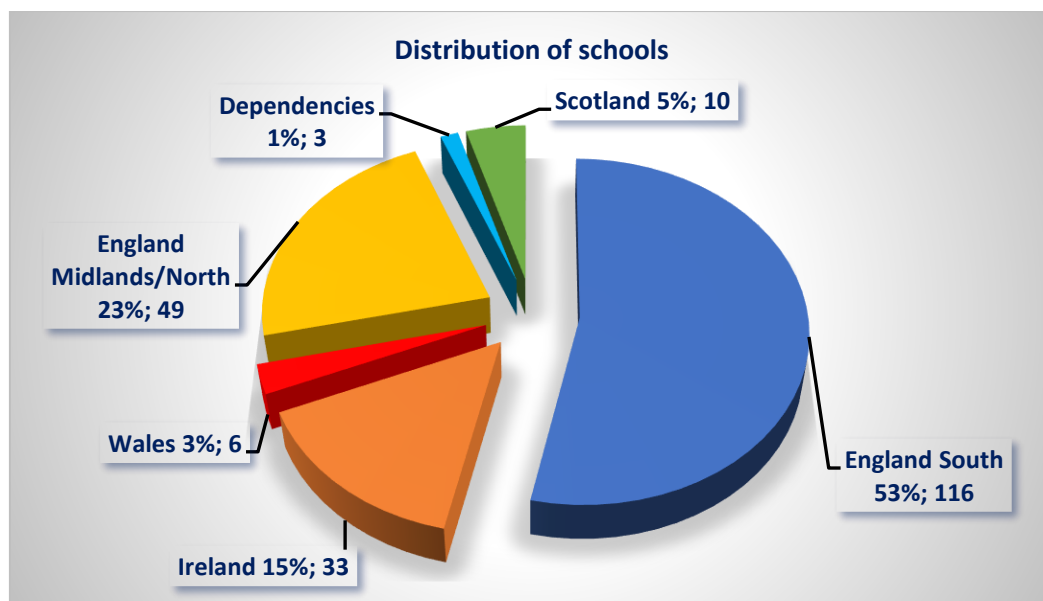
Of the 217 schools covered by this study, thirty-three were/are based in Ireland, ten in Scotland, six in Wales, one in each of the Dependencies of Guernsey, Jersey and the Isle of Man, and 165 in England; forty-nine of them above a line from Gloucester to The Wash, and the balance of 116 below that line. The following map shows all locations, and the graphic on the page overleaf shows area distribution, in charted form, with numbers and percentages added.



**School Locations**<sup>67</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Map used under Royalty-Free Licence from Base map © Maproom at [www.maproom.net](http://www.maproom.net).

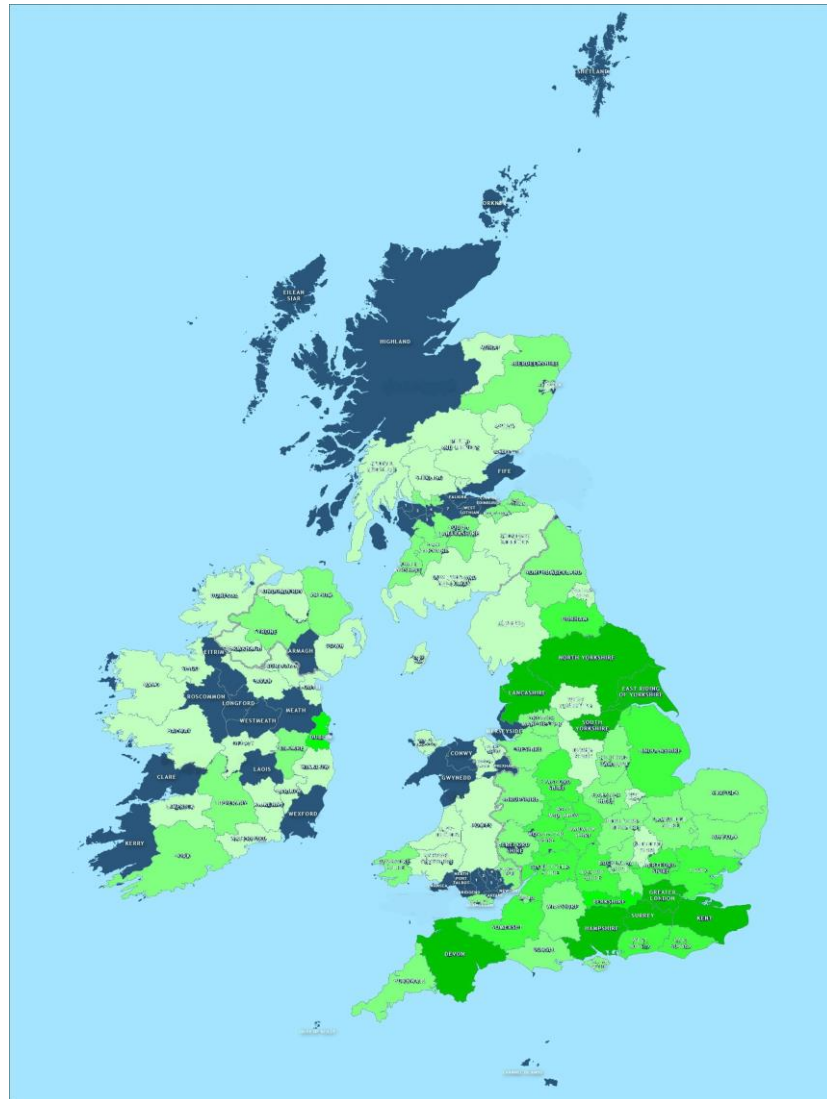




As might be expected, the majority of schools were/are located in concentrated areas of population although some, Glenalmond, in Perthshire, and St Andrew's, in Pembrokeshire, for instance, chose remote environments in which to educate their pupils, away from possible city distractions. Charterhouse, following a recommendation by the Clarendon Commission, and against a background of improving rail connections to the countryside, moved from London to a rural and quieter setting at Godalming in 1872. Merchant Taylors', Christ's Hospital and St Paul's would also move out of the metropolitan area in coming years to prevent overcrowding, expand, and provide a cleaner environment together with more space for games and sports.

Of the 1,262 casualties who are the subject of this investigation, a home county, or overseas country, of birth has been established for 854. A further twelve are known to have been born in Ireland and seven in Scotland although the actual county of birth in these cases is not known. Those born within the British Isles, and whose county of birth is known, are plotted on the map appearing overleaf in various shades of green against a blue background. The darker the intensity of green, the more individuals

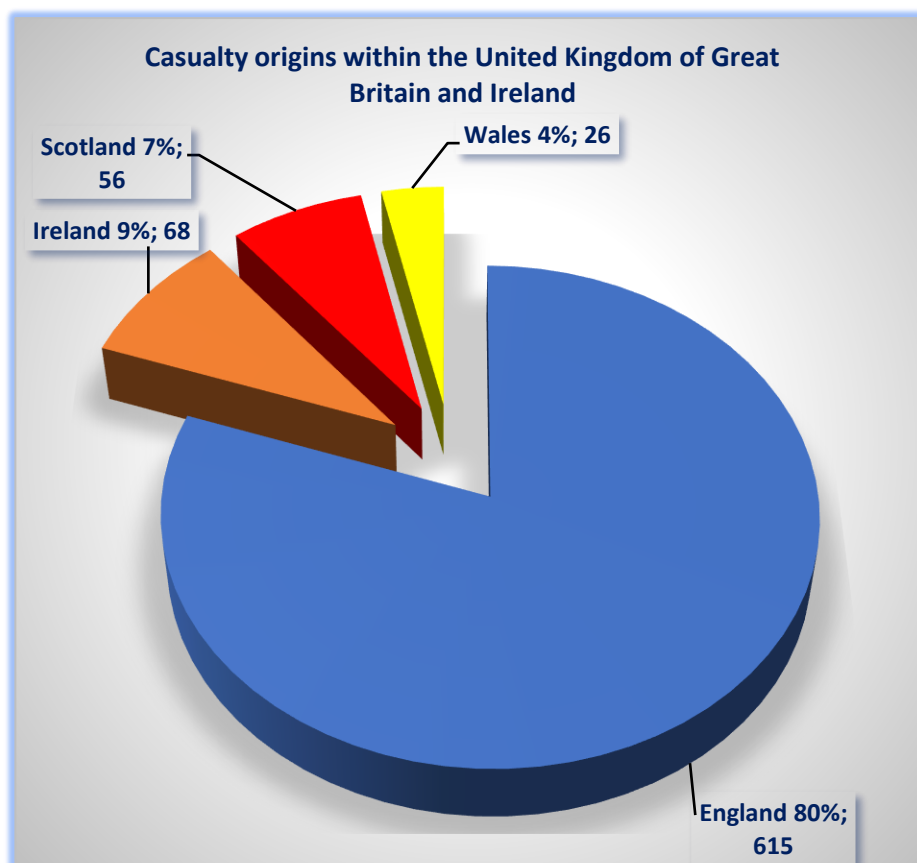
originated in that county.<sup>68</sup> The areas of most concentration were London, and the home counties, plus Yorkshire, Lancashire and Devon. The chart on the next page shows origin in the four individual countries which made up the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at the time of the Boer War and the numbers plus percentages in each.<sup>69</sup>



**Counties of birth**

<sup>68</sup> Map used under Royalty-Free Licence from Base map © Maproom at [www.maproom.net](http://www.maproom.net).

<sup>69</sup> Birth counties have been established by reference to census returns, school and military records.



A surprisingly large number of boys, 108, or about twelve percent of the total identified, were born outside of the British Isles – ten in Europe, five in North America, seven in South America, seventy-two in Asia, four in Africa and ten in Australia/New Zealand. Their places of birth speak of the strong nineteenth-century connection with empire, particularly India where many of the ex-public/private schoolboys military fathers were stationed, but the locations are also an indicator of the class into which the boys were born. Alexander Herschel Wade, who attended Winchester College, for instance, was born at Tientsin, China,<sup>70</sup> the son of Sir Thomas Francis Wade and his wife Amelia. The family returned to England following the retirement of Sir Thomas from the diplomatic service and can be found living in Cambridge at the time of the 1891 census, together with a butler, cook and two

<sup>70</sup> TNA. GRO Consular Birth Indices (1849-1965), Vol. 5, Page 339.

maids.<sup>71</sup> John Stanley Hudson, an ex-pupil of Eastbourne College, was born at Kanagawa, Japan,<sup>72</sup> the son of John Hudson, described as a merchant in the census of 1881, and of 'independent means' in the same survey taken ten years later. The family listed two nurses, a cook and a housemaid in their 1881 return.<sup>73</sup> In further examples, Edward Chetwood Hamilton-Grant, late of Charterhouse, was born in Ontario, Canada, and his father was an army major who, together with wife, Hester, employed a nurse, cook and man-servant at the time of the 1871 census.<sup>74</sup> Hugh Martin Alers-Hankey, educated, and commemorated, at both Marlborough and Rugby, was born in Australia and in the 1881 census his father, Robert, then living at Brighton on the English south coast and employing a nurse and four general servants, described himself as a 'Retired Colonial Sheepfarmer'.<sup>75</sup>

It is clear from these examples, together with the large number of ex-public/private schoolboys born overseas, that the civil service, trade, business and the military, took many of those engaged in them far away from Britain. Such careers provided funds for the placement of their sons in public/private schools and the enjoyment of an upper-class lifestyle for both themselves and their families once they returned home. Part of that lifestyle was the individual place chosen to provide their children with education and, perhaps more importantly in their minds, preparation for the time when they would leave school and enter the stratified world of Victorian adulthood. The choice of a particular school was influenced by many factors, location being only one, and probably not featuring in most parent's first priorities so that, in many cases,

<sup>71</sup> TNA. Archive reference RG12, Piece number 1285, Folio 92, Page 20.

<sup>72</sup> TNA. GRO Consular Birth Indices (1849-1965), Vol. 5, Page 1152.

<sup>73</sup> TNA. Archive references RG11, Piece798, Folio 60, p.4 and RG12, Piece 20, Folio 81, p.33.

<sup>74</sup> TNA. Archive reference RG10, Piece1685, Folio 16, Page 26.

<sup>75</sup> TNA. Archive reference RG11, Piece 1076, Folio 98, Page 11.

considerable travel was involved in placing boys at the school their parents had chosen for their education. Some parents, of course, preferred to educate their offspring abroad and therefore sent them to colonial schools, all of them run along similar lines to those located in Britain and Ireland.

When it came to volunteering for service in the Boer War, however, authorities, both at home and abroad, ensured that new soldiers could enlist, without travelling any long distance; for instance, in South Africa ten recruiting centres were reported to be in operation in November 1899,<sup>76</sup> whilst in New South Wales local rifle clubs were acting as such centres in early 1900.<sup>77</sup> In Britain itself, press reports of recruitment activity in the first few weeks of war show that the authorities were anxious that location should be no obstacle to those wishing to volunteer, but they also indicate a regional difference in attitude toward the war. Regulations for accepting army volunteers were issued, by the War Office, on the evening of Tuesday 19<sup>th</sup> December 1899 and prominently published in *The Times* the following morning. By the end of that week the paper had been able to print recruiting reports from twenty-five counties ranging from Cornwall, in the south-west, to Northumberland, in the north-east.

'Patriotic enthusiasm' was said to prevail 'among the Militia' at the Government decision to accept army volunteers.<sup>78</sup> At the Buckinghamshire recruitment centre 'the offer of [local men] for foreign service [was] overwhelming', whilst in Durham new

<sup>76</sup> "Recruiting In South Africa." *Times* [London, England] 28 Dec. 1900: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 14 Jan. 2015.

<sup>77</sup> "Recruiting In New South Wales." *Times* [London, England] 26 Feb. 1900: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 14 Jan. 2015.

<sup>78</sup> "The War." *Times* [London, England] 19 Dec. 1899: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 12 Sept. 2016.

soldiers 'were prepared to go on duty at any moment'.<sup>79</sup> In Monmouthshire, at a 'hastily-summoned parade' of volunteers, 250 individuals 'unanimously [put themselves forward] for service abroad',<sup>80</sup> and in Scotland, *Glasgow Herald* reported that the 'admirable manner' in which 'Volunteers' were 'answering the demands made upon them by the Government continues to excite the warmest admiration'.<sup>81</sup> 'From all parts of the country', the *Special Edition* of that newspaper went on to announce, 'the enthusiastic answer to the call is alike'.<sup>82</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, printed in Dublin, however, was sceptical. 'The people who have forced this war on are the English middle classes, through their middle-class mouthpiece, Mr Chamberlain',<sup>83</sup> it trumpeted, before going on to assert that those who had been 'carrying on the war and suffering by it' were the 'English, Scotch, and Irish' upper and lower classes.<sup>84</sup> Those who 'disapprove of the attack on the Boer Republics', the paper continued 'will watch with great interest to see how many Volunteers from the great towns of England and Scotland will now come forward'.<sup>85</sup> *Freeman's* was playing to a sympathetic audience as noted by Andries Wessels when he captured the Irish mood, in the early days of the war, by commenting as noted below:

The spectacle of another small rural people, taking up arms in South Africa against the omnipotent British Empire, evoked a sympathetic and enthusiastic response in Ireland and fired languishing dreams of resistance and independence.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>79</sup> "The War." *Times* [London, England] 20 Dec. 1899: 6+. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 3 Nov 2014.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> *Glasgow Herald* – Wednesday 20 December 1899, p.7.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> The Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

<sup>84</sup> *Freeman's Journal* – Wednesday 20 December 1899, p.5.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Wessels, A., (1999) 'The Rhetoric Of Conflict And Conflict By Rhetoric: Ireland And The Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902)', in *Literator: Journal Of Literary Criticism, Comparative Linguistics And Literary Studies*, (South Africa: Literator Society of SA), p.162.

Not every Irishman took this view. A correspondent to the *Belfast Newsletter*, just signing himself/herself 'Loyalist', pointed out that the War Office had received a 'hearty response' 'from volunteers in all parts of the kingdom except Ireland' but pleaded that 'surely we in Ireland should be given the same facilities to form a volunteer corps as our fellows across the Channel'.<sup>87</sup> Some volunteers were, in fact, able to enlist without crossing the Irish Sea. Charles William Power, late of Clongowes Wood College;<sup>88</sup> Edward Erkin Wilmot Chetwode, a past pupil of Haileybury,<sup>89</sup> and Andrew Marshall Porter, late of Harrow School,<sup>90</sup> all joined the Imperial Yeomanry at Newbridge, County Kildare. All three were of Irish birth and Chetwode and Porter had returned to their home country once their education in England was complete. The actual place of attestation for these three recruits was, most probably, the Curragh Military Camp, located very close to Newbridge town, and where they would have undergone military training prior to being sent to South Africa.

At the end of December 1899, then, locations in England, Scotland, Wales and throughout the empire, were, broadly speaking, united in their support and enthusiasm for the South African war.<sup>91</sup> In Ireland, such feelings were less apparent, perhaps understandably so, given the failure of two Home Rule bills in the recent past and only lukewarm support for such an idea in mainland Britain. Ireland did make a significant

<sup>87</sup> *Belfast Newsletter* – Wednesday 20 December 1899, p.6.

<sup>88</sup> TNA. Series reference WO128-128006217. Box 0032. Record 043.

<sup>89</sup> TNA. Series reference WO128-128006304. Box 0032. Record 130.

<sup>90</sup> TNA. Series reference WO128-128006314. Box 0032. Record 140.

<sup>91</sup> *The Times* commented: This spontaneous outburst of colonial feeling is exceedingly gratifying merely as showing the solidarity of the mother country and the colonies, and as indicating the resources upon which the Empire can draw for defence. "At a moment when the whole nation is." *Times* [London, England] 1 Nov. 1899: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 14 Jan, 2015.

contribution to the war effort, in terms of regular soldiers, through thirteen battalions of Irish infantry and three regiments of cavalry, plus a significant number of officers – sixty-eight of whom are the subject of this study and represented in the red section of the pie chart given on 129. As mentioned, school location was not of great concern to those who sent their sons to the institutions being discussed. Of much greater interest was the particular moral code, standard, character and spirit of the school and it is to this topic that attention will now be directed.

### *Type of School*

This chapter has already shown that the parental occupations of a number of the ex-public/private schoolboys analysed can be easily placed into a small number of categories. 11% of them were clergymen, 24% soldiers, or naval officers, and 33% professional/medical/legal men. Just over a quarter were persons who had already accumulated wealth and were not now engaged (if they ever were) in any exacting occupation. The balance of 6% comprised artisans and those who farmed, in a small way, or provided basic tradesman services to their community. In the choice of school for their sons' education, religious affiliation would have been important to the clergymen and military ethos to those who were members of the armed forces. Professional men, according to Lord Taunton's 1868 report, were looking for schools whose curricula included 'mathematics, modern languages, chemistry, and the rudiments of physical science', even at the possible expense of the more traditional 'classical studies'.<sup>92</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that most of the ex-public-school-boys families were financially secure, cost must have been a consideration for some whilst,

<sup>92</sup> *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* [Online], Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. I, 1868, Report of the Commissioners. pp. 18-19.



on the other hand, prestige, in the form of a well-known and respected phrontistery, where their descendants could develop influential friendships, would have been a priority in the minds of those who had accumulated wealth. Sporting facilities, and the degree of success in competition with other establishments, might have been of some consideration, along with location, but not to the extent of the other factors mentioned above. As Taunton commented in his report '[some parents] have nothing to look to but education to keep their sons on a high social level and they would not wish', he continued, 'to have what might be more readily converted into money if in any degree it tended to let their children sink in the social scale': nevertheless, Taunton also remarks, for some 'the main evil of the present system ... is its expense'.<sup>93</sup>

Protestantism is an umbrella term which covers the religious outlook of 194 schools in this study – the vast majority. The most often used individual descriptions are Church of England, Church in Wales etc., Methodist, Presbyterian, Nonconformist and Anglican but the terms Episcopal, Congregational and Reform are also present. Clifton College, Bristol, described itself as just Christian, notwithstanding the fact that one of the resolutions passed at a founding meeting in 1860 read 'religious teaching [shall] be in accordance with that of the Church of England'.<sup>94</sup> Clifton's early headmasters, all clergymen, 'eschewed dogma' and the very first of them, John Percival, established a boarding house at the school to cater exclusively for Jewish pupils.<sup>95</sup> Fifteen of the schools were Catholic and four Quaker and whilst the latter group could be categorised Protestant it is mentioned separately because of the Quaker

<sup>93</sup> *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* [Online], Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. I, 1868, Report of the Commissioners. pp. 18-19.

<sup>94</sup> *Bristol Mercury* – Saturday 2 June 1860.

<sup>95</sup> Acheson, Bob (BAcheson@clifton-college.avon.sch.uk), 2013. *Religion at Clifton College*. 16 May. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

devotion to peaceful principals and its opposition to participation in war. Three ex-pupils from the four schools in question, Bootham in Yorkshire, Leighton Park in Berkshire, Friends' in Antrim and Newtown in Waterford, were engaged in the war; two of them survived but the third, Harris Yeomans, late of Bootham, died of enteric fever. Yeomans had joined the South African Constabulary, a body raised by the British Army with the intention that it should be a peacekeeping force once hostilities had ended. In the event, the conflict went on far longer than expected, with the result that the unit became involved in combat. Yeomans, therefore, probably unintentionally participated and died less than five months before he would have been able to adopt the peacekeeping role which he must have envisaged at enlistment.

The Catholic schools, whilst comparatively small in number, were spread throughout the region. Seven were in Ireland, the most northerly being located in Londonderry and the most southerly in Kildare. Five were in the south of England and the remaining three were situated in York, Clitheroe and Sutton Coldfield. Alone amongst the 217 institutions which form the basis of this study was University College School (UCS), London, described by sometime headmaster, Henry Weston Eve, in 1886, as 'the one great Public School in England that is absolutely unsectarian'. The school was founded by University College London, the first university in England to admit students irrespective of their religion, or lack of it. Pupils sometimes took lodgings with their tutors in private boarding houses but generally they continued to live with their families, allowing the school to take the view that 'religious education is left to be dealt with at home'.<sup>96</sup> The extent to which past pupils may have participated in the Boer

<sup>96</sup> Felkin, F.W., (1909) *From Gower Street To Frognal: A Short History Of University College School From 1830 to 1907*, (London: Arnold Fairbairns & Company Ltd.) pp.7-8.

War is not known: the school's archives 'were not very well kept' and, in any case, 'many were destroyed in a fire in the 1970's', so there is no South Africa memorial at UCS.<sup>97</sup> There were, of course, many more schools throughout the British Isles than those covered in this examination, but it is apparent, from just the number under discussion, that a family's preference for religious affiliation could be quite easily satisfied. Given that UCS was unique amongst public/private schools, however, those seeking to place their sons at an institution having no affiliation were, perhaps, not so well catered for.

Moving on to military ethos, many schools established a cadet corps in which boys were invited to voluntarily enrol. Stephen Miller writes that the 'Volunteer movement [was] created during a period of heightened fear of invasion in the 1850s',<sup>98</sup> and certainly by the end of that decade such a threat was being taken very seriously. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Heron Jones, 7<sup>th</sup> Viscount Ranelagh, rhetorically asked, in December 1859, why France was 'so rapidly enlarging her fleet and increasing her army' and concluded that there could 'be but one country against which all these preparations [were] being made'.<sup>99</sup> The newspapers of that month were full of invasion talk. 'We must arm', advised *Wells Journal*,<sup>100</sup> 'there is nothing in our position to deter France from attacking us', cautioned *Leicester Journal*,<sup>101</sup> 'an invasion would have a better chance of success now than it had at any time before', commented a Paris-based correspondent of *Morning Herald*, before chillingly adding, 'that it will be attempted

<sup>97</sup> Cargill-Greer, Sabrina (seniorschool@ucs.org.uk), 2012. Boer War 1899-1902. 13 July. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>98</sup> Miller, S.M., (2005) 'In Support Of The "Imperial Mission": Volunteering For The South African War, 1899-1902' in *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 69, no. 3. (Lexington, VA: Society for Military History). pp.691-711.

<sup>99</sup> *West Middlesex Advertiser and Family Journal* – Saturday 03 December 1859.

<sup>100</sup> *Wells Journal* – Saturday, November 19, 1859.

<sup>101</sup> *Leicester Journal* – Friday 19 August 1859.

I have no doubt'.<sup>102</sup> Correspondents to *The Times* sought to provide helpful contingency suggestions of a logistical nature. 'A Railroad Director', proposed that personnel be trained 'so that they may manoeuvre their steam engines and locomotives without failure and confusion, if called upon to carry a large body of troops, artillery, and baggage' in the event of invasion.<sup>103</sup> 'A Voice From The Mountains' warned that 'numerous gunboats' were 'in course of construction in the dockyards of France' and recommended that a railway be hastily constructed in Wales to quickly position troops along the 'undefended shores of Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, Merionethshire and Carnarvonshire' (sic).<sup>104</sup>

'Victorian Britain', comments Hugh Cunningham, 'was afflicted by a chronic anxiety about invasion',<sup>105</sup> but the particular disquiet at the end of the 1850s had been caused by the attempt, in January 1858, of an Italian, Felice Orsini, to assassinate the French Emperor by means of a number of grenades, manufactured in Birmingham. Orsini had lived in England for some years and had travelled, unlawfully, on a British passport to carry out his murderous intent. The affair outraged the French people and precipitated a change of British government the following month. The incoming administration eventually saw a need to strengthen the country's internal defences and on Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> May 1859 the Secretary of State for War, Jonathan Peel, issued a notice 'sanctioning the formation of Volunteer Corps'.<sup>106</sup> Peel, together with his

<sup>102</sup> *Liverpool Mercury* – Friday 09 December 1859.

<sup>103</sup> A RAILROAD DIRECTOR. "The Defensive Movement." *Times* [London, England] 22 Dec. 1859:8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 9 Nov. 2014.

<sup>104</sup> A VOICE THE MOUNTAINS. "Defences Of The Welsh Coast." *Times* [London, England] 28 Dec. 1859: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 9 Nov. 2014.

<sup>105</sup> Cunningham, H., (1975) *The Volunteer Force: A Social And Political History 1859-1908*, Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, an imprint of The Shoe String Press, p.5.

<sup>106</sup> "Volunteer Corps." *Times* [London, England] 13 May 1859: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 10 Nov. 2014.

colleagues, comments Ian Beckett, did not themselves fear invasion and he, Peel, 'later claimed that the acceptance of the Volunteers was solely in response to popular opinion'.<sup>107</sup>

Some educational institutions were quick to establish a corps. Among the first, if not the very first, was Rossall School, Fleetwood, which inaugurated its detachment in February 1860 as the '65<sup>th</sup> Lancashire Rifle Volunteers'.<sup>108</sup> Also founded in 1860, although it subsequently lapsed for a few years, was the Perse School, Cambridge, 'Drill Corps'.<sup>109</sup> King's Worcester formed its troop in 1864/65 and the boys wore 'a black serge uniform and a round peakless cap, black leather cross-belt and waist-belt with a pouch and bayonet frog'.<sup>110</sup> They carried heavy carbines, 'discarded smooth-bore weapons formerly used by the Royal Irish Constabulary', made even weightier by the addition of 'triangular bayonets', with the result that none but the older, stronger, boys could hold them at arm's-length.<sup>111</sup> Haileybury did not establish its contingent until 1886 and when time came for a first inspection by officers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Herts Rifle Volunteers, to which it was attached, the boys were used to marching only in their regular school clothes. A 'motion was put and almost passed' that they should 'parade in cricket flannels, top hats and walking sticks' but eventually corps members acquired a uniform 'of a brown grey colour with yellow braid on the collar and cuffs and red piping on the trousers ... topped with a spiked helmet with a hart badge'.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Beckett, I.F.W., (2007) *Riflemen Form: A Study Of The Rifle Volunteer Movement 1859-1908*, Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, an imprint of Pen & Sword Books Ltd, p. 20.

<sup>108</sup> Trist, L.H., (1945) 'The O.T.C' in Furness, W., (1945) *The Centenary History Of Rossall School*, (Aldershot: Gale & Polden Ltd.), p. 211.

<sup>109</sup> *Cambridge Chronicle and University Journal* – Saturday 7 April 1860.

<sup>110</sup> Macdonald, A., (1936) *A History Of The King's School Worcester*, (London: Ernest Benn Limited), pp.228-229.

<sup>111</sup> Macdonald, *A History Of The King's School Worcester*, 228-229.

<sup>112</sup> Thomas, I., (1987) *Haileybury 1806-1987*, (Haileybury Hertford: Haileybury Society), p.76.

Peel's authorisation notice had specified that 'the uniform and equipments' of any particular unit 'may be settled by the members', subject to the approval of the 'Lieutenant of the county', and, further, that members must 'undertake to provide their own arms and equipments, and to defray all expenses attending the corps, except in the event of its being assembled for actual service'.<sup>113</sup> This latter requirement ensured that participants would come from the more affluent sections of society and the formation of a brigade was, therefore, admirably suited to being organised within public/private schools. Indeed, as Cunningham asserts, 'increasingly it was the public schools ... and their cadet corps which were seen as the most promising source for officers'.<sup>114</sup> In 1893 a field day took place at Aldershot and seventeen schools participated in defending a 'railway junction near Frimley-green' against regulars of the 'Aldershot 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Brigade', acting as an enemy committed to the junction's destruction.<sup>115</sup> The following sketch gives an artist's impression of the scene and it looks remarkably similar to impressions of actual skirmishes during the Boer War.<sup>116</sup>



<sup>113</sup> "Volunteer Corps." *Times* [London, England] 13 May 1859: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 13 Nov. 2014.

<sup>114</sup> Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force*, 59.

<sup>115</sup> "Naval & Military Intelligence." *Times* [London, England] 18 Mar. 1893: 13. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 13 Nov. 2014.

<sup>116</sup> Sketch in the *Daily Graphic*, Saturday, March 18, 1893, taken from Thomas, I., (1987) *Haileybury 1806-1987*, (Haileybury Hertford: Haileybury Society), p.99.

By the time of the Boer War, sixty-five of the schools in this study included a military element within their activities, and by the time of WWI a further forty-seven had been added to that number. All the brigades, however, owed their origin to the invasion scare of the 1850s.

In the country generally, the volunteer movement was 'quickly established and widely accepted' and it proved itself both 'strong and resilient'.<sup>117</sup> The Cardwell reforms of the 1870s strengthened the movement with the result that, by the time war broke out in South Africa, 'nearly one out of every four men living in the United Kingdom and Ireland had some sort of military experience'.<sup>118</sup> Generally speaking again, schoolchildren were, from a young age, 'inculcated with a strong sense of nationalism, a belief in racial ascendancy, and support for the imperial mission' in a society which 'placed tremendous value on patriotism, the empire, and the military'.<sup>119</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that many of those who passed through public/private schools, where a particular emphasis was pinned on such standards, acquired cadet corps experience and became keen volunteers. Some schools, like Haileybury, Cheltenham, Malvern and Wellington, in England, Aravon, in Ireland, and Elizabeth College, in Guernsey, became known as institutions with a strong military bias and they attracted the sons of army officers who very often found their own way into military service. In several families soldiering had become a tradition. George Weldon, for example, who attended Cheltenham College can be found in the census of 1871 living with his father, a captain in the Madras Staff Corps, and his grandfather, a Royal Artillery major-general, at age sixty-two still on the army active list. George, his brother and

<sup>117</sup> Spiers, E.M., (1980) *The Army And Society*, London: Longman Group Ltd. pp. 166/167.

<sup>118</sup> Miller, 'In Support Of The "Imperial Mission"', 703.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., pp. 701 and 704.

sister had all been born in India, indicating that their father had spent at least five years in that posting.<sup>120</sup> Gaspard Le Marchant, who attended Elizabeth College, Guernsey, came from a very distinguished military family. His father, Sir John, had been a lieutenant-general and held governorship posts in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Malta, whilst his grandfather, had been a major-general, and his great-grandfather an officer of the 7<sup>th</sup> dragoons: it therefore seems inevitable that young Gaspard should be placed at a school 'noted for its ability to prepare boys for entry into the army and naval colleges'.<sup>121 and 122</sup>

Apart from those with a military predilection, nineteenth-century public/private schools can be categorised in a number of other ways. The most prestigious could be said to be those nine (Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby and Shrewsbury) nominated by the monarch, in the twenty-fifth year of her reign, for investigation by a Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Clarendon.<sup>123</sup> A further fourteen schools from this present enquiry, however, could be said to have been near-misses for Clarendon's attention in that they were schools similar in nature to the nine actually examined and they include such well known institutions as Cheltenham, King Edward's Birmingham, and Repton. The establishments studied by Clarendon may be said to comprise a short-list whereas

<sup>120</sup> TNA. Archive reference RG10, Piece number 25, Folio 93, Page 45.

<sup>121</sup> Sweetman, J. (2004-09-23). Le Marchant, John Gaspard (1766–1812), army officer. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 7 Mar. 2018, from <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16423> and Chichester, H. (2004-09-23). Le Marchant, Sir John Gaspard (1803–1874), army officer and colonial administrator. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 7 Mar. 2018, from <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16424>.

<sup>122</sup> *Elizabeth College* [Online].

<sup>123</sup> *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* [Online], Report Of Her Majesty's Commissioners, 1864, pp. 2-3.



the mass of schools to which the term public school was much more loosely applied may be described as a long-list. J.R. de S. Honey argues that the 'characteristic of a short-list is that its members' claims to inclusion are more or less equal, whereas a long-list contains schools whose claims to inclusion are grossly unequal'.<sup>124</sup> Many short-lists can be drawn up in which schools have, roughly, equal inclusion claims but if all of those short-lists are brought together to form a long-list 'the schools of the first constituent group [will be very unequal] to those of the last'.<sup>125</sup> Honey offers a number of criteria for compiling short-lists including scholarship success; those schools which interacted with one another in sporting, or military, activities; those whose names appeared in the, short-lived, *Public School Magazine*; and those represented at the annual Headmasters' Conference, generally termed the HMC.

The HMC was initiated in 1869 by Edward Thring, headmaster of Uppingham School, and an examination of conference reports for the years 1899 through 1902 discloses the fact that representatives from about one-third of the schools under consideration here were in attendance. Whether in sporting or military competition, academic success, press mention, or event participation, rivalry between schools was intense with each contributor eager to prove that his school was the best. But it was also more than that. Public/private school-boys were, as has been demonstrated, members of a social elite, but they were additionally able to think of their own school, or the group to which they believed it belonged, as being even more prestigious than other schools, including those in more or less the same category. Honey provides two interesting examples. In the first, the captain of the Shrewsbury Eleven wrote to his counterpart

<sup>124</sup> Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, 244.

<sup>125</sup> Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, 244.

in Westminster suggesting a match between their respective teams but received the response that Westminster played only public schools and considered just itself, Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Rugby and Winchester, to be worthy of that title. In his second example Honey draws attention to an advertisement placed in *The Times* in February 1865. It invited gentlemen to join a *Public Schools Club* but stipulated that only those educated at Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Westminster and Winchester were eligible. Even Rugby was excluded.<sup>126</sup> Not only, then, was the issue of class alive and well within each school during the nineteenth century, it partly defined the difference between one institution and the next. The clear-cut edges of the class divide were nonetheless destined to become blurred in the following century, and perhaps the beginnings of this movement can be detected in Boer War casualties. Rugby lost twenty-six alumni and at least five of them shared membership of an individual, or related, regiment which included men from the member schools of the *Club* from which Rugby had been excluded. The table appearing below gives details.

Rugbiens	Regiment	Also members
John Bere Grylls	Royal Field Artillery	George Vernon Clarke, late Charterhouse
Robert Bruce Blunt	Lancashire Fusiliers	Eric Fraser, late Eton
Charles Edgar Litkie	Thornycroft's Mounted Infantry	Hugh Steward McCorquodale, late Harrow
Henry de Clervaux Moody	Sth Wales Borderers/Welch Reg	Freke Lewis Prothero, late Westminster
Vere Annesley Ball-Acton	Oxford Light Infantry	Ashley Rowland Bright, late Winchester

Ex-public/private schoolboys fought in a variety of regiments during the war, for instance Eton alumni were represented in fifty-two of them, forty-seven Imperial and

<sup>126</sup> Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, 240/241.

five Colonial.<sup>127</sup> Units of the Imperial Yeomanry attracted recruits from eighty-two of the schools analysed whilst the King's Royal Rifle Corps, the single most supported regiment in this study, attracted alumni from seventeen of the schools, so cracks must have inevitably occurred in the rigid class thinking typified by the Westminster XI captain and whosoever worded the *Club* advertisement in *The Times*.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter has shown that public/private school men came from a particular class background where privilege was the order of the day. They were groomed during their education years to perpetuate the class system in adult life but strong senses of loyalty, duty, and self-abnegation, instilled whilst at school, resulted in their willingness to fight for patriotic ideals at an army rank far below what, in circumstances other than war, would have been expected. Because these men saw themselves, and were seen by others, as important elements in a hierarchical society, it was natural that their deaths in the cause of preserving a particular way of life, should be commemorated. Other sections of society were markedly different in terms of class and a glimpse of that difference has been demonstrated in the comparison between Gordon's Boys', representing 'private' schools, and Bedford Grammar, representing 'public/private'. Such an opportunity to compare is uncommon because non-public/private school boys were not seen as having the same social importance at the time of the Boer War and were therefore rarely commemorated at their school.

It has also been shown that rank was closely associated with class and that it played a significant role in many public/private-school memorialisation schemes, from being

<sup>127</sup> Source: Tablet in Lupton's Chantry, Eton College.

highlighted in the case of high status to being often ignored in the case of low. Examples in the private school sector are hard to come by, for reasons already mentioned, but in two which have been cited rank played no importance at all, and probably for the reason that there was no expectation that, in these cases, any high rank would have been achieved.<sup>128</sup>

Finally, the men and schools covered by this study have been thoroughly described – the men in terms of rank, class, regimental membership, location of birth and place of education; the schools in terms of location and military/religious outlook. The coming chapter will begin to look at the memorials themselves and, in particular, at the commissioning process which brought them into being – a procedure which will also throw additional light on the ethos of individual schools and the motivations of the personnel who acted on their behalf.

<sup>128</sup> London Orphan Asylum and Gordon Boys'

[illegible]

**City of London, 28 Feb 2013**  
**Eton, 13 Nov 2012**  
**Harrow, 11 June 2012**

### *Chapter Three - Memorial Commissioning Process*

#### *Introduction*

Those who began the process of commemorating the fallen alumni of public/private schools carried a heavy burden of expectation. Relatives and friends of the deceased trusted that the memory of their nearest and dearest would be permanently, and appropriately, preserved. At the same time, each of the institutions themselves anticipated that their individual memorial would underscore the ethos of the school and provide a didactic message for future pupils. In many instances, planners of memorials, whilst being cognizant of the hopes of both relatives and the school, saw opportunities to schedule new, or enhance existing, facilities, by means of finance raised for the memorialisation of the dead. Whatever schemes were to be adopted, however, those planners also carried a responsibility to ensure their memorials reflected such coeval messages as *sacrifice for the greater good* and *glorious death in defence of school, country and empire*. The Boer War was the first in the modern era, as Graham Oliver has noted, to reinstate the ancient practice of commemorating the individual, irrespective of class, rank, or manner of death.<sup>1</sup> Greater importance than ever before, in public school life, was consequently attached to accuracy of information and to the exhaustive collection of all those names entitled to be included in any particular scheme. At Manchester Grammar, for example, a tablet affixed during the 1904 summer holidays (over two years after the war had ended) had to be taken down for a newly-discovered name, that of Joseph Smedley Pilling, to be inscribed. The date for unveiling had been set for Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> September so there was just sufficient time, after the new academic year had started, to make the necessary

<sup>1</sup> Oliver, G.J., (2012) 'Naming the Dead, Writing the Individual: Classical Traditions and Commemorative Practices in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' in Low, P., Oliver, G., and Rhodes, P.J., (eds.), *Cultures of Commemoration: War Memorials, Ancient and Modern*, Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, pp.113-134.

adjustment, although, unfortunately, the margins at the tablet's head and foot became unequal, indicating to the eagle-eyed that an unexpected addition had been made.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter will consider the business of memorial authorisation in detail by looking at evidence across the wide geographical reach of phrontisteries known from the present study to have had memorial programmes. As might be expected, detailed, primary-source records, such as minutes, reports, drawings and accounts are only available in a limited number of cases, but many schools published a regular magazine which kept readers abreast of memorialisation plans and the collection of funds with which to realise them. Those schools whose records are copious will therefore be considered in some detail and the driving force, or forces, behind their memorial projects will be identified. Institutions which left a less detailed footprint of their genesis, and/or commissioned less elaborate memorials, will be examined for clues which will enable them to be bracketed with schools in the first category.

Peter Donaldson, in his recent work on remembering the South African war, examines memorialisation in civic, military, familial, religious, vocational and educational communities, and, as already mentioned, he devotes a single section to 'the great public schools'.<sup>3</sup> Donaldson contends that memorial construction 'in the first decade of the twentieth century has simply been viewed as a mere foreshadowing of [WWI and later] work' which 'has not been deemed worthy of investigation in its own right' and he states that his research 'marks the start of a process of exploring this foreshadowing

<sup>2</sup> BLI *Ulula*, the Manchester Grammar School Magazine. No 232, October 1904, p.157.

<sup>3</sup> Donaldson, P., (2013) *Remembering The South African War: Britain And The Memory Of The Anglo Boer War, From 1899 To The Present*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, p.81.

more thoroughly'.<sup>4</sup> This present chapter further takes up that theme, and challenge, by extending the reach of enquiry so as to considerably build on Donaldson's interesting work, and observations. It will consider, under three headings, what individuals, or agencies, commissioned memorials and seek to discover how, and by whom, decisions were made and authorisations given.

Those headings are: *Headmasters*, *Governing Bodies* and *Old Boys* and all three groups involved themselves in the commissioning process. Many individuals within each group sought to influence the choice of memorial, as will be shown in the following pages. It is the contention of this chapter however, that, at the end of the day, decisions, because of their great importance, had to be corporate rather than individual. The great majority of schools in this study were concerned with educating and producing the future military, political and administrative leadership of the country and empire. In this role each school was eager to improve or maintain its reputation. The deaths of former pupils would be publicly displayed through whichever memorial scheme was eventually chosen and the memorials would make statements on behalf of the pupils and their schools. The scene now having been set, the chapter will open with a brief outline of the impact of Boer War casualties on ten of the better-known schools.

The mortality at Eton College was the highest amongst public/private schools in Britain and Ireland – over twice that of Cheltenham and Harrow, three times that of Clifton and Marlborough, four times that of Rugby and Winchester and ten times that

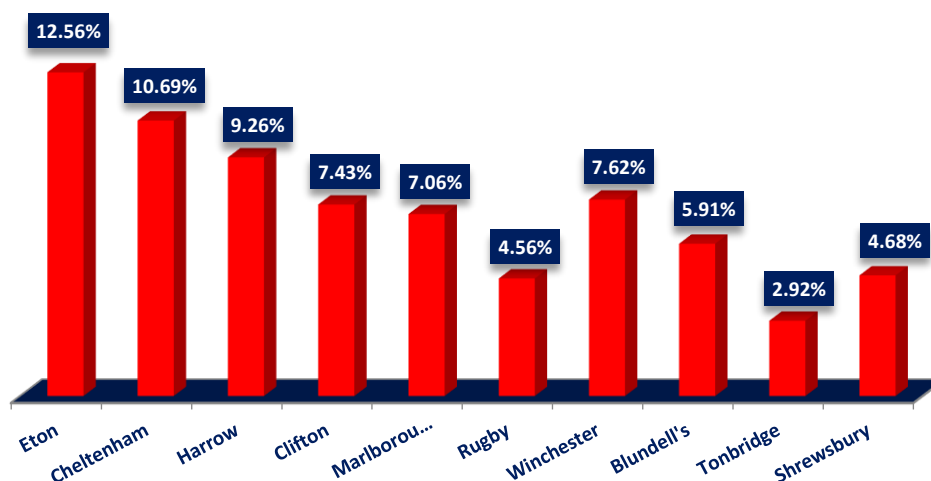
<sup>4</sup> Donaldson, P., (2013) 'The Commemoration Of The South African War (1899-1902) In British Public Schools' in *History & Memory*, vol.25, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2013), Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press). p.33.



of Blundell's, Tonbridge and Shrewsbury. That is not to say, however, that the impact on Eton was, necessarily, two, three, four, or even ten times greater than anywhere else, as demonstrated by the following table which expresses all of these schools' number of deaths as a percentage of their individual pupil population around the year 1900.

School	Boer War deaths	School population	%
Eton	129	1,027	12.56
Cheltenham	54	505	10.69
Harrow	55	594	9.26
Clifton	43	579	7.43
Marlborough	43	609	7.06
Rugby	26	570	4.56
Winchester	32	420	7.62
Blundell's	13	220	5.91
Tonbridge	13	445	2.92
Shrewsbury	14	299	4.68

The figures in the preceding table are more clearly expressed in the following graphic which shows the percentage relationship between the school losses and their pupil count at the end of the nineteenth century.



Percentage relationship school losses/pupil count

The casualty calculations in the preceding table and chart have been ascertained from individual memorials and the count of pupils in the schools from the various sources noted below.<sup>5</sup> The impact on Eton was not therefore as great, in comparison with other institutions, as might, upon first examination be thought. It is, nevertheless, unsurprising, bearing in mind the financial bracket of those who sent their sons to Eton, that, the school commissioned the most costly, by far, of all the memorials covered by this study. The total memorial scheme comprised a new school hall and library, plus extensive restoration work at the eastern end of the college chapel, to include a gun-metal tablet upon which is inscribed the name, rank and regiment of each of the 129 individuals who perished. Such an elaborate project also implies detailed records and the institution in fact holds correspondence, papers, circulars, a minute-book and sub-committee proceedings, all relating to its memorialisation programme. It has, therefore, to be the starting point in any investigation of the commissioning process adopted by public/private schools.

### *Headmasters in control*

In November 1900, the Governing Body of Eton appointed an all-old-Etonian memorial committee comprising Earl Morley (a House of Lords deputy speaker as

<sup>5</sup> The casualty count has been ascertained from memorials and the count of pupils obtained as follows: by email to *Dennis Huggins* ([hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie](mailto:hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie)): **Eton**: Cracknell, Eleanor ([E.Cracknell@etoncollege.org.uk](mailto:E.Cracknell@etoncollege.org.uk)), 2015. Re Enquiry via External Website. 23 January. **Cheltenham**: Barlow, Jill ([barlow.jill@cheltcoll.gloucs.sch.uk](mailto:barlow.jill@cheltcoll.gloucs.sch.uk)), 2013. Re *Cheltenham College*. 22 August. **Harrow**: Meredith, Angharad ([meredithac@harrowschool.org.uk](mailto:meredithac@harrowschool.org.uk)) 2013. Re *Number of Pupils*. 8 April. **Marlborough**: Rogers, Terry ([ter@marlboroughcollege.org](mailto:ter@marlboroughcollege.org)) 2013. Re *Boer War 1899-1902*. 9 May. **Rugby**: Adams Wendy ([WJA@rugbyschool.net](mailto:WJA@rugbyschool.net)) 2013. Re *Boer War 1899-1902*. 3 September. **Winchester**: Foster, Suzanne ([sf@Wincoll.ac.uk](mailto:sf@Wincoll.ac.uk)) 2013. Re *Visit 14 September 2012*. 14 September. **Blundell's**: Sampson, Mike ([mjs@blundell's.org](mailto:mjs@blundell's.org)) 2013. Re *Boer War 1899-1902*. 19 March. **Tonbridge**: Matthews, Beverley ([bm@tonbridge-school.org](mailto:bm@tonbridge-school.org)) 2013. Re *Boer War 1899 - 1902*. 25 March, and, in the case of: **Shrewsbury** from: Oldham, J.B., (1952) *A History of Shrewsbury School 1552-1952*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, whilst, in the case of: **Clifton** from: Trafford, C., (ed.) (2009) *The Best School Of All: 150 Years Of Clifton College*, London: Third Millennium Publishing Ltd. p.23.

well as being an Eton fellow and governor), George Charles Brodrick (warden of Merton College Oxford), Edward Littleton Vaughan and Edward Compton Austen-Leigh (both lower masters at Eton), and the headmaster, the Reverend Edmond Warre. The committee's brief was to consider the 'erection of a Great School and School Library in memory of Etonians who have served in the War' and the group first met in the existing college library on Friday 7<sup>th</sup> December 1900.<sup>6</sup> At that time the headmaster was appointed chairman; Vaughan was asked to act as 'pro tem' secretary, and Viscount Cobham, again an old-Etonian, was co-opted as a committee member. The meeting then debated the form of memorial and earmarked a site for purchase. Probable costs, and methods of raising funds, were also discussed at the December 1900 meeting before the proceedings were adjourned 'sine die'.<sup>7</sup> Henry C. Maxwell Lyte comments that 'Dr Warre and others had long desired that there should be at Eton a hall capable of holding all the boys and their masters',<sup>8</sup> and, according to Charles R.L. Fletcher, Warre's demand for such a facility had 'actually been granted by vote of the Governing Body' as far back as February 1885.<sup>9</sup> The site identified by the committee was 'the house at present occupied by Mr Tatham', shown on the following page as it appeared in 1902.<sup>10</sup>

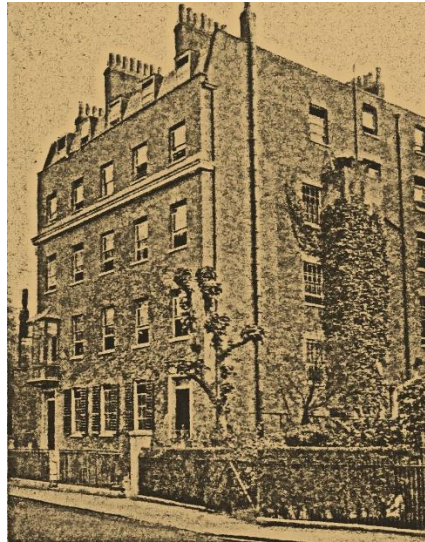
<sup>6</sup> ECA Misc/EMF/1. Minute book 1900-1910, committee meeting minutes, 7 December 1900.

<sup>7</sup> From the Latin 'without day' and meaning without arranging a particular future meeting date.

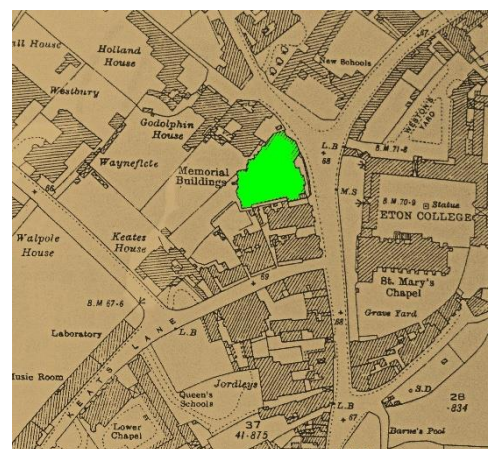
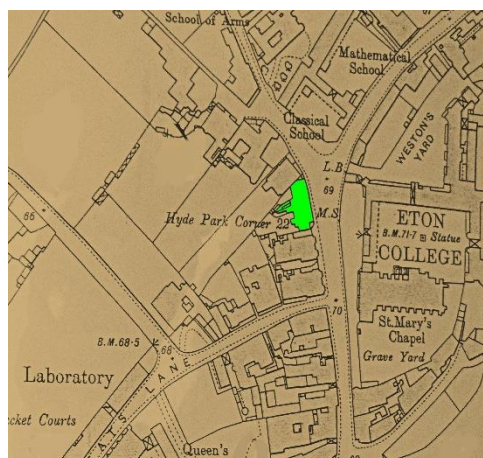
<sup>8</sup> Maxwell Lyte, H.C., (1911) *History of Eton College (1440-1910)*, London: Macmillan and Co Limited. p.573.

<sup>9</sup> Fletcher, C.R.L., (1922) *Edmond Warre D.D., C.B., C.V.O Sometime Headmaster and Provost of Eton College*, London: John Murray.

<sup>10</sup> BLI *Eton College Chronicle*. 7 June 1902, p.97.



Herbert Tatham was an assistant master at Eton and his house was substantial. On the night of the 1901 census, Sunday 31<sup>st</sup> March, it was home to himself plus twenty-five students, a matron, cook, and a number of house, parlour, kitchen, and scullery-maids – altogether totalling thirty-seven individuals.<sup>11</sup> The Tatham premises lay in an ideal position, just across the road from the main campus, and, given the kind of memorial which the headmaster, and now the committee, had in mind, demolition of an existing premises would be needed if the new facility was to be within easy reach of the college. The maps below show the position of Tatham's house and the memorial buildings later constructed at the same spot. That to the left is dated 1899 and that to the right 1925.



<sup>11</sup> TNA RG13. England, Wales & Scotland Census. Piece number 1342, Folio 47, Pages 9-10.

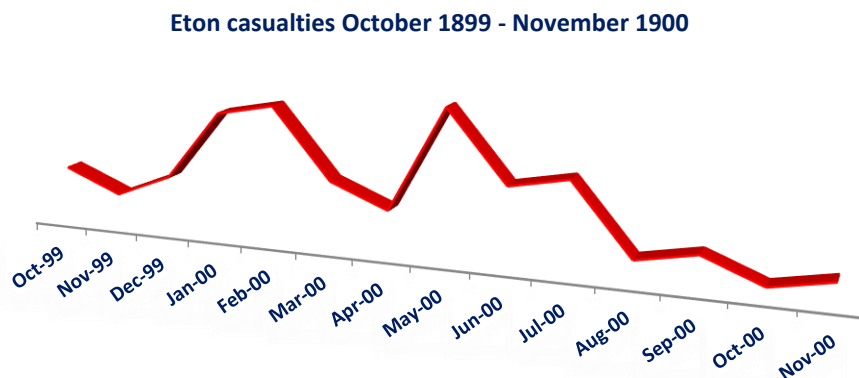
Headmaster Warre had formed a clear vision, by December 1900, of the type, and location, of facility he wanted as a remembrance site and, whilst he was to face many objections over the coming years, the memorial was eventually constructed much as originally planned. As an interesting aside, an oak table memorial to Herbert Tatham who died, aged only forty-seven, following a fall in the Alps shortly after the buildings were opened, was housed in the library section of the new premises until a restoration project probably removed it in the 1970s.<sup>12</sup>

On the face of it, that inaugural meeting held at Eton could be considered premature as hostilities did not cease until the end of May 1902 – almost eighteen months later. There were, however, very good reasons to suppose, on that Friday in early December 1900, that the war was almost over. It had been announced, the previous Saturday, that Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief of the forces in South Africa, and himself an Old Etonian, was on his way home having handed command to Lord Kitchener, his Chief-of-Staff.<sup>13</sup> Further, Eton College had, at the time of the first memorial committee meeting, lost eighty-two of its alumni in the war but the numbers had peaked earlier in the year and had been falling since summer. The chart presented on the next page shows Eton fatalities from October 1899 to November 1900.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> "Mr. H. F. W. Tatham." *Times* [London, England] 9 Aug. 1909: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 14 Jan. 2015 and Cracknell, Eleanor (E.Cracknell@etoncollege.org.uk), 2015. *Enquiry via External Website*. 21 January. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>13</sup> "It is officially announced by the War Office that." *Times* [London, England] 1 Dec. 1900: 11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 13 Jan. 2015.

<sup>14</sup> Dates of death are not available from the Eton records. They have been obtained from: TNA WO97, Chelsea Pensioners British Army Service Records 1760-1913; Biggins, D., *AngloBoerWar.com* [Online] Available: <http://www.angloboerwar.com/> [December 2014 - May 2015]; and Lundy, D.R., *The Peerage: A genealogical survey of the peerage of Britain as well as the royal families of Europe* [Online] Available: <http://www.thepeerage.com/> [December 2014 - May 2015].



The memorial committee did not, however, convene again until Thursday 20<sup>th</sup> February 1902 by which time it was apparent, from newspaper reports, that the war was, at last, entering its final stages. At that meeting, held in Lord Morley's room at the House of Lords, a letter, drafted by the headmaster and addressed to Old Etonians, was considered, amended and approved. It was sent out the following Wednesday to upwards of 600 individuals and it provoked an unwelcome response, publicly aired in the letters column of *The Times*. The Conservative Member of Parliament for Stowmarket, Ian Malcolm, wrote to enquire who was on the committee, who had appointed them, and to whom were they responsible. He went on to consider the proposed memorial inappropriate, undesirable, utilitarian and offensive, before putting forward his own alternative – 'a memorial cast window in the college chapel'.<sup>15</sup> Fellow parliamentarian Reginald Lucas wrote in support of Malcolm's position and suggested 'a single soldier figure' to be 'placed in front of the new school railings',<sup>16</sup> whilst a third House of Commons member, Seymour Ormsby-Gore, thought the memorial 'should take a form commemorative of those whom we wish to honour', instead of relieving the college governing body of the responsibility to provide any necessary new school

<sup>15</sup> IAN MALCOLM. "The Eton War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 15 May 1902: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 Jan. 2015.

<sup>16</sup> REGINALD LUCAS. "Eton War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 17 May 1902: 16. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 Jan. 2015.

facilities.<sup>17</sup> By the time these latter thoughts had reached publication, however, they were accompanied by others which defended the committee set up to consider memorial plans, together with the decisions which had been made.

The, newly-appointed, permanent secretary to that body, assistant-master Arthur Ainger, entered the fray on the defence side along with Arthur Benson, a sometime house-master, and Lords Esher and Rosebery. Additional past pupils made contributions under their own names or using such pseudonyms as 'Eton Eight 1851', 'Old Etonian',<sup>18</sup> and 'An Etonian of the Sixties'.<sup>19</sup> The debate over Eton's memorial had begun and future correspondents were to also include the headmaster, Dr Warre.<sup>20</sup> Malcolm's original criticism of the memorial scheme had been three-fold. He felt that the utilitarian nature of the building would not 'reveal the sacred memories associated with it' and that it would 'be used for examinations or disciplinary purposes', and thus acquire 'an unpopular association with all classes of Etonians'.<sup>21</sup> His third objection was that the premises might be given a nickname, which would falsely represent the intentions of those who had proposed its construction. A final decision to overrule the objections of Malcolm and his supporters and recommend the original scheme to an alumni conference planned for the Mansion House on Tuesday 10<sup>th</sup> June 1902, followed discussions at a further nine meetings of the memorial committee. On that

<sup>17</sup> A. C. AINGER., ARTHUR C. BENSON., and SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE. "The Eton War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 19 May 1902: 5. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 Jan. 2015.

<sup>18</sup> ESHER., et al. "Eton War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 21 May 1902: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 24 Sept. 2015.

<sup>19</sup> FREDERICK MILNER., and AN ETONIAN OF THE SIXTIES. "The Eton Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 28 May 1902: 13. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 24 Sept. 2015.

<sup>20</sup> EDMOND WARRE., and IAN MALCOLM. "Eton War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 23 May 1902: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 Jan. 2015.

<sup>21</sup> IAN MALCOLM. "The Eton War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 15 May 1902: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 24 Sept. 2015.



Tuesday, such heavyweights as Lords Rosebery and Roberts spoke in favour of the proposal as, surprisingly, did Malcolm, who based his newfound support on the hope that subscriptions would be allocated between those who chose a building and those who preferred a monument.

This suggestion appears impractical, and Malcolm's original objections somewhat petty; it seeming much more likely that his true concerns were the high cost of the building proposal perhaps coupled with an opportunity to increase his public standing by adding to his track record of letters to the editor of *The Times*. There may also have been some personal animosities at play. Ill-feeling of some kind assuredly existed between Arthur Benson and Seymour Ormsby-Gore as evidenced in a diary entry in which Benson recorded the receipt of 'a vile letter, very offensive, from Ormsby-Gore, a son of old Harlech':<sup>22</sup> 'I hope to get my knife into him', Benson added.<sup>23</sup> No evidence has been found to suggest any hostility between Malcolm and Warre but the two were certainly well acquainted with each other, the former having been a pupil at Eton during the time the latter was a master, later headmaster, and in such circumstances some jealousy or bitterness could possibly have developed.

Whatever the background, however, speeches made at the Mansion House resulted in a motion for the adoption of the headmaster's scheme being carried unanimously.<sup>24</sup> But Edmond Warre's difficulties did not end there. As Donaldson has observed, a 'chequered fund-raising record' followed,<sup>25</sup> only resolved by the headmaster's personal

<sup>22</sup> William Richard Ormsby-Gore, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Harlech.

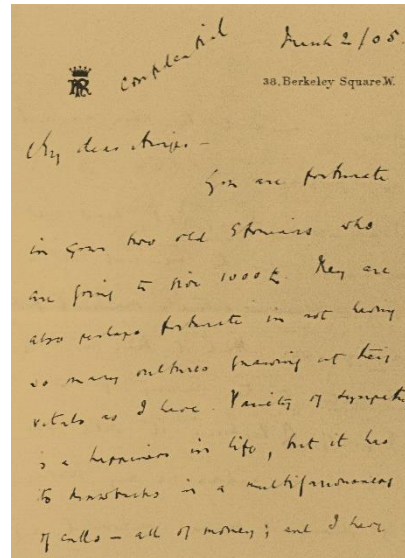
<sup>23</sup> TPL Arthur Benson diaries. Volume 13, page 24.

<sup>24</sup> "The Eton Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 11 June 1902: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 Jan. 2015.

<sup>25</sup> Donaldson, *Remembering The South African War*, 90.



appeal for more capital in the summer of 1908.<sup>26</sup> Malcolm had been correct in considering the scheme too adventurous by far, in terms of cost, and none too popular amongst the Eton alumni, despite the unanimous vote of 1902. A confidential letter written by Lord Rosebery to Arthur Ainger, dated Thursday 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1905 and partly reproduced below, tells a more complete story.



'You are fortunate', wrote Rosebery, 'in your two old Etonians who are going to give £1000', and he continued by speculating that the donors may not have 'so many vultures gnawing at their vitals as I have' before declaring 'I have given as much to the Eton memorial as I propose to give'.<sup>27</sup>

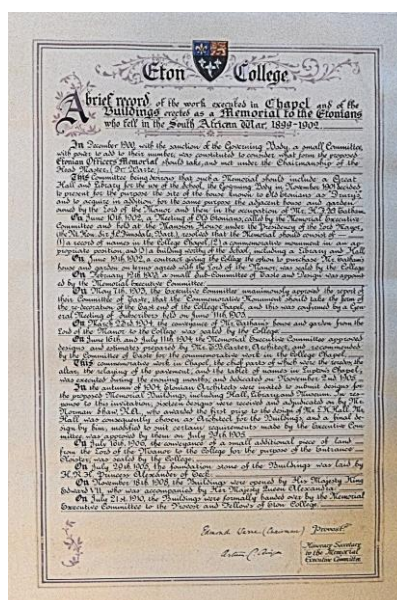
At the 1902 conference the former Prime Minister, had been fulsome in his endorsement of Warre's proposal, but in the letter to Ainger he confessed to never having been an enthusiast for a memorial in the shape presented, before observing that it evoked very little warmth of response anywhere. Rosebery then revealed the true reason for his support in the comment 'had it not been for the affection, gratitude and

<sup>26</sup> EDMOND WARRE. "The Eton Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 9 July 1908: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 Jan. 2015.

<sup>27</sup> ECA Misc/EMF/6. Correspondence and Papers.

respect felt for the Head that warmth would have sustained a further chilling'.<sup>28</sup> Lord Rosebery died in 1929 and his estate was probated at £1,500,122 3s. 6d. (over £66M in today's values),<sup>29</sup> so any lack of financial contribution was confirmed unrelated to any lack of personal resources.<sup>30</sup> The process at Eton had, however, due to disagreements and lack of funds, been long-drawn-out.

Warre's committee met for the last time on Thursday 21<sup>st</sup> July 1910 in the Museum section of the new Memorial Buildings, over eight years after the war had ended. A chronological record, shown below,<sup>31</sup> was handed to the Provost for preservation in the college archives and the minutes of that final meeting record an anticipation that



'the balance in hand' plus 'sundry contributions not yet paid' would meet all costs and 'leave a surplus'.<sup>32</sup> and <sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> ECA Misc/EMF/6. Correspondence and Papers.

<sup>29</sup> *Moneysorter* [Online] Available:

[http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator\\_inflation2.html#calculator](http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator_inflation2.html#calculator) [Accessed July - August 2015].

<sup>30</sup> *Find a will* [Online] Available: <https://probatesearch.service.gov.uk/#wills> [Accessed 1929, page 171, 27 September 2015].

<sup>31</sup> ECA Misc/EMF/5. A brief record of the work executed.

<sup>32</sup> ECA Misc/EMF/1. Minute book 1900-1910, committee meeting minutes, 21 July 1910.

<sup>33</sup> ECA. Rosebery Letter and Chronological Record photographed at, and with the permission of, Eton College, 13 November 2012.

The diaries of Arthur Benson, the sometime Eton housemaster and *Times* correspondent, provide an interesting insight as to how the headmaster's memorial scheme came to be accepted. Benson began by being decidedly against the project on the grounds of both cost and suitability. 'We exhaust' the monetary resources 'of OEs',<sup>34</sup> he wrote; 'we mortgage school revenues ... all for a room to use a few times a year' and 'to feed and exalt the glories of Warre': 'I silently pray it will be a fortune'.<sup>35</sup> Benson was in the habit of going for afternoon walks with both Ainger, the fund secretary, and Tatham, whose house was to be sacrificed for the memorial buildings. After one such excursion he recorded that he thought it plain that Warre had, for once, entirely misinterpreted Eton feeling. In another diary entry Benson forecasted, correctly as it turned out, that there would be a strong, and nasty, opposition before later commenting that the headmaster had 'put his head into a bee's byke'.<sup>36</sup> Memorial plans were further discussed at Benson's regular dinner parties, following one of which the diary reads 'Warre has not hit the public taste this time'; 'the only way he could triumph would be if three people came forward with £10,000 each'.<sup>37</sup> It is worth emphasising that the sum of money which the head required for his project was indeed extraordinary. The £30K sought from old Etonians was the equivalent of over £2.5M in today's terms, and this on top of a comparable sum having been donated by the college itself.<sup>38</sup>

Benson wrote of Warre 'he is no teacher, not learned, no speaker, no preacher', yet, despite these remarks, and disagreeing with the headmaster 'on all educational

<sup>34</sup> Old Etonians.

<sup>35</sup> TPL Arthur Benson diaries. Volume 12, pp. 108-109.

<sup>36</sup> TPL Arthur Benson diaries. Volume 13, pp. 33-35.

<sup>37</sup> TPL Arthur Benson diaries. Volume 13, p. 27.

<sup>38</sup> *Moneysorter* [Online]. Available:

[http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator\\_inflation2.html#calculator](http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator_inflation2.html#calculator) [July - August 2015].

subjects', Benson found himself 'dominated' when in the headmaster's presence, leading to a conclusion that he was 'undeniably a great man' whose 'force' was to be admired.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps having an inkling of the effect he had on Benson, Warre asked to meet him at the school on Saturday 24<sup>th</sup> May 1902 – at the end of a week during which the hostile correspondence in *The Times* was at its height. Benson took the opportunity, at that meeting, to state that he did not approve of the head's scheme; that he feared money would not be successfully collected, and that there was a strong and dangerous opposition. Despite his many reservations, Benson was persuaded by Warre to write a careful document in favour of the Big School,<sup>40</sup> for the *Chronicle*,<sup>41</sup> and this was published, as what Benson termed a State Document, on Saturday 7<sup>th</sup> June 1902; doubtless timed to have an impact on the Mansion House meeting to be held the following Tuesday. The piece was, indeed, carefully written. It firstly regretted, what Benson regarded as, the controversial tone in which recent statements had been made and then appealed for respect for individual views before going on to consider various memorial suggestions. First for discussion was a distinctive memorial of a complete kind to be placed in the chapel, but it was pointed out that this would entail the removal of some other monument and that it would be a perverted piety to sweep away anything that stood as a memorial of bygone love and generosity. Next for consideration was a reredos, but Benson considered it would not be a happy decision to erect a memorial, the essence of which was controversy over religious symbolism. Statuary could be considered but 'Weston's Yard' was 'hardly central enough'; 'Long Walk' provided insufficient 'dignity of space', and the 'Playing Fields' were 'unadvisable' because the monument 'should form one of [the College's] central

<sup>39</sup> TPL Arthur Benson diaries. Volume 13, pp. 13-14.

<sup>40</sup> Benson, in his diaries, repeatedly refers to the Eton Boer Memorial project as 'Big School'.

<sup>41</sup> *Eton College Chronicle*.

adornments'.<sup>42</sup> Warre's scheme was then compared to such memorial buildings as the Albert Hall and it was indicated that, in addition to being used for practical purposes, the building would be a 'seemly monument to our bravest and best'; 'connected with ... festal associations', and 'a place where on high days the Memorials of the great dead should look down well-pleased upon the happy joys and activities of the living'.<sup>43</sup> Arthur Benson concluded his article with a rallying call. 'Eton must not appear before the world as a disunited, discontented phalanx engaged in internecine warfare', he wrote; 'the common affection we feel for a beloved and honoured mother, must save us from smaller differences'.<sup>44</sup>

Following a later dinner party with Ainger, Tatham, and three others, Benson, having by that time submitted his State Document to the *Chronicle*, was able to record in the diary that the whole Eton memorial row was now quieting down. 'Warre', he said, has been 'kind and conciliatory' and had thus seen off the opposition, then, in a remarkable about-face, Benson added 'a man with his grip and greatness has only to be polite'.<sup>45</sup> Humour seems to have taken the place of hostility at that point with one of Benson's colleagues remarking to the other dinner guests, 'the Headmaster keeps on telling us that the new room will have a thousand and one uses: I wish he would leave the thousand alone and enlighten us as to what the one is!'.<sup>46</sup>

In the case of Eton College, then, one single-minded headmaster had seized upon, at an early stage, a memorialisation opportunity to realise a dream; had carried persons

<sup>42</sup> BLI *Eton College Chronicle*. No. 968, Saturday, June 7, 1902, p. 97.

<sup>43</sup> BLI *Eton College Chronicle*. No. 968, Saturday, June 7, 1902, p. 98.

<sup>44</sup> BLI *Eton College Chronicle*. No. 968, Saturday, June 7, 1902, p. 98.

<sup>45</sup> TPL Arthur Benson diaries. Volume 13, p. 47.

<sup>46</sup> TPL Arthur Benson diaries. Volume 14, pp. 26-27.

of influence with him, and had engineered a democratic process to bring his plan to fruition, on the back of a personality which, as Christopher Hollis has remarked 'impressed itself as few' did, even 'in an age which prided itself on its personalities'.<sup>47</sup> If Graham Dawson is correct in his assertion that 'masculinities are lived out in the flesh, but fashioned in the imagination', Arthur Benson, and others, must, along with their natural respect for authority, have encountered a strong manliness in the persona of Edmund Warre.<sup>48</sup>

The characters and temperaments of other headmasters were also at work in relation to their own school schemes. At Bristol Grammar, R.L. Leighton gave permission to open a subscription list in July 1900 but 'considered it best to await the declaration of peace before taking further steps'.<sup>49</sup> He also reserved to himself the presidency of the school's committee 'in charge of the proposed memorial' and, shrewdly, only formed that committee *after* the subscription list had closed.<sup>50</sup> An Old Boy of Bristol Grammar, W.H. Weekes, had become the 'Rector of Mafeking' and was 'in the town throughout its seven months siege'.<sup>51</sup> That beleaguering was ended on Thursday 17<sup>th</sup> May 1900 so Leighton was, perhaps, taking advantage of the effect this popular news would have had in the early opening of his list.

Uppingham's head, the Reverend Edward Carus Selwyn, considered the *Old School Room*, used for assembly, and as a concert hall, too small, and the gymnasium, opened

<sup>47</sup> Hollis, C. (1960) *Eton: A History*, London: Hollis and Carter. p.286.

<sup>48</sup> Dawson, G., (1994) *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire And The Imagining Of Masculinities*, London: Routledge. p.1.

<sup>49</sup> BGA. Holmes, J.G., (1902) Letter to Bristolians, 28 June.

<sup>50</sup> BGA *The Grammar School Chronicle*. December 1902, p.26.

<sup>51</sup> Hill, C.P., (1951) *The History of Bristol Grammar School*, London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd., pp. 162-163.

in 1859, out of date. Once the Boer War had ended he launched an appeal to construct a building able to accommodate all three functions and also provide an armoury for the use of the School Rifle Volunteer Corps, founded the year after he became headmaster. At Wellingborough, Philip Algernon Fryer was a boy in the period 1882-89, a master 1892-1907, and headmaster 1907-33, so he would have personally known all five of the school's former pupils who died in the South African war. Wellingborough's chapel was opened in 1908 yet no memorial appeared until 1924.<sup>52</sup> In the Wellingborough instance, then, Fryer must have used his influence not to clutter the chapel with memorials until, probably, compelled to do so following the huge loss of 177 Old Boys and four masters in WWI.

The late-nineteenth- early-twentieth-century head of Dragon School, (originally Oxford Preparatory) was Charles Cotterill Lynam, known to many as *Skipper*, and one of his most successful pupils was Maurice Richard Church who became a master at the school and a frequent crew member on Lynam's boat, *Blue Dragon*. Church was killed at Hartebeestefontein on Monday 18<sup>th</sup> February 1901,<sup>53</sup> and exactly one month later a committee comprising the headmaster, his two brothers, six other masters, a clergyman, and three other individuals,<sup>54</sup> met to consider a memorial.<sup>55</sup> By April it had been decided to construct a two story building to house a carpenter's shop on the ground floor with a museum and drawing-room above and funds were raised, and the structure completed, before the end of the year.<sup>56</sup> *Skipper* believed it 'important to teach all pupils to use their hands in a skill' and, wanting to realise such an educational

<sup>52</sup> Lyon, Neil (neillyon@talk21.com), 2015. Re Boer War/Wellingborough School. 15 March. Email to: Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>53</sup> TNA WO128. Imperial Yeomanry service records 1899-1902, Box 0025, record number 108.

<sup>54</sup> Occupations established from TNA RG13, 1901 England, Wales & Scotland Census.

<sup>55</sup> DSA. Lynam, A.E., (1901) Letter to Oxford Preparatory School Alumni, April.

<sup>56</sup> DSA *The Draconian*. December 1901, p.544.

facility, he pushed through the memorial with great haste.<sup>57</sup> A further four ex-pupils of the school perished in the war but Maurice Church was the first, and probably the closest to *Skipper*, and it is only his name which is inscribed above the door to the museum.

In passing, it should be noted that Dragon was, still is, a preparatory school and that Church left in 1886 to attend Lancing College. His death at Hartbeestfontein in 1901 is also commemorated on a brass plaque, located in the crypt, at Lancing, and it might be thought that, because of the fifteen-year gap, Church was only remembered at Dragon because of his crewman connection to Lynam, and the fact that he had returned to the school as a member of staff. In actuality, other preparatory schools appear to have very successfully kept contact with past pupils despite the time interval between their leaving those institutions, as boys, and meeting their demise in South Africa, as men. It is appropriate to pause for a moment to consider some examples. Charney Hall preparatory remembered its war casualties, John Taylor and John Starkie Preston, by means of a plaque at nearby St Paul's Church, Grange-over-Sands, where pupils came every Sunday during term time.<sup>58</sup> Both are additionally commemorated at their secondary schools, Winchester and Haileybury, respectively. Robert Walter Maxwell Brine attended St. Clare's preparatory, Walmer, and later Marlborough College and is memorialised at both. Cargilfield preparatory, Edinburgh, had the names of twelve past pupils carved on an oak panel and nine of them can also be found on memorials at Clifton, Loretto, Haileybury, Eton, Glenalmond, Rugby, Fettes and Winchester. The remaining three names, Charles D. Findlay, B.L.B. Greig and Max West, have

<sup>57</sup> Sturt, G.F. (GFS@dragonschool.org), 2013. Dragon Museum message no 11. 31 October. Email to: Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>58</sup> Ash, Nick (cptmrector@gmail.com), 2013. Charney Hall School. 13 February. Email to: Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).



not proved possible to trace in census, military or secondary-school records so they may well have moved overseas following their time at Cargilfield. Farnborough Hill Primary suffered, and commemorated, twelve casualties, nine of whom went on to Eton, and are also remembered there. Of the remaining three, two took their secondary education at Wellington and one at Cheltenham and they are commemorated at those schools as well as at Farnborough. Similarly, West Drayton Preparatory lost eight former pupils and, in addition to their names being carved on a block at that school, five are remembered at Eton and one each at Marlborough, Charterhouse and Winchester. West Drayton also took the, unusual, step of mentioning the years between which each pupil attended the school, and the names are listed in order of entry year. Fortunately, the year is different in each case, the first being Francis Churchill Quicke who came to the school in 1875, and the last William McClintock Bunbury, who entered in 1888. Wherever in the world all of these pupils may have been before taking part in the Boer War, then, their six primary-education establishments kept abreast of them, and when it came time to commission a memorial, the necessary details were to hand. The longest recorded gap occurred in the case of Francis Quicke who left primary school in 1880 and perished at Riverdale, near Harrismith on Saturday 26<sup>th</sup> October 1901.<sup>59</sup> The shortest is William McClintock Bunbury who left primary in 1892 and died at Dronfield on Saturday 17<sup>th</sup> February 1900 of wounds received during fighting around Kimberley a couple of days earlier.<sup>60</sup>

But to now return to headmasters and their ambitions, Stamford Grammar waited until after the war had ended before deciding on a brass tablet on which to record the names

<sup>59</sup> TNA. Anglo-Boer War records, 1899-1902 compiled from the Natal Field Force (Oct 1899 to Oct 1900)

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

of the dead, because by that time it was certain sixteen ex-pupils had taken part in the campaign and that two of them had lost their lives.<sup>61</sup> Dr Dennis Jacob Johnson Barnard, the head, took charge and 'any old schoolfellow who would like to contribute' was invited to 'send a small subscription' directly to him.<sup>62</sup> Lionel Ford, headmaster, and former schoolboy, at Repton, used the occasion of Speech Day 1901 to communicate his wishes for a memorial. He seems to have been made aware of a move to place a commemorative brass in the chapel but owned that he looked forward to some still larger memorial. 'The chapel', he declared, 'needs enlargement' and further 'the organ requires to be re-constructed and to be moved from its present place to the west end, where it will be better heard'.<sup>63</sup> Ford had joined Repton as headmaster in that same year and Cyril Alington comments that 'among his creations [was] the O.R. [Old Reptonian] Society'.<sup>64</sup> The new headmaster's previous post had been at Eton so he would have been aware of the help which might be given by an old boys' association to assist with memorial ambitions. If that was indeed headmaster Ford's strategy it very much succeeded and Repton acquired an Organ Loft Screen and Masters' Stalls together with an Antechapel, in which was placed the originally-proposed brass.<sup>65</sup> The head at Sherborne, the Reverend Canon Frederick Brown Westcott, also knew the value of an old boys' association. He suggested a mosaic as 'an undoubted improvement to the Chapel' with names 'engraved conspicuously on some part of the new work'.<sup>66</sup> The Old Shirburnian Society took up the suggestion,

<sup>61</sup> SGS *The Stamfordian*. Christmas Term 1903.

<sup>62</sup> SGS *The Stamfordian*. Volume. 4, Midsummer Term 1902, no. 9, pp.2-3.

<sup>63</sup> RSA *The Reptonian*. July 1901, vol. XXVI, pp.76-82.

<sup>64</sup> Alington, C., (1934) *Lionel Ford*, London: Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. p.57.

<sup>65</sup> Gildea, J., (1911) *For Remembrance And In Honour Of Those Who Lost Their Lives In The South African War 1899-1902*, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode Ltd., 1911), p.35.

<sup>66</sup> SSA *The Shirburnian*. July 1902, pp. 289-290.

voted to contribute the sum of ten guineas, and drafted a circular to past pupils inviting them to subscribe.

So, in many instances, headmasters used commemoration as an opportunity to realise their own pet projects and none of those discussed appears to have had any further motivation; for example, family loss in the South African conflict. The 1911 census asked, for the first time in census history, how many years a couple had been married; how many of their children had been born alive, and how many were still living at the census date – Sunday 2<sup>nd</sup> April. The heads of Uppingham,<sup>67</sup> Repton,<sup>68</sup> Eton,<sup>69</sup> and the Dragon School,<sup>70</sup> had fathered twenty-one children between them, twenty of whom were still alive at that census time with the remaining one (the son of Charles Lynam) being, probably, in the Outer Hebrides on census night, aboard his father's yacht *Blue Dragon II*.<sup>71</sup> The heads of Wellingborough and Sherborne were bachelors but family members associated with them in the census were all recorded as still living. The only heads who seem to have lost close relatives, by that Sunday in April 1911, were Leighton, of Bristol, and Barnard, of Stamford, each of whom had fathered seven children, and had each lost one, but in neither case was the loss as a result of war. Charles Lynam could be said to have regarded Maurice Church almost as family and it was only his name which appeared over the new museum door. It does seem, however, that Lynam was anxious to realise the building and had other alumni died at the same time as Church, their names would, quite probably, have also appeared over the door.

<sup>67</sup> TNA RG14. Census reference RG14PN3135 RG78PN115 RD34 SD4 ED1 SN33.

<sup>68</sup> TNA RG14. Census reference RG14PN7076 RG78PN347 RD130 SD1 ED9 SN148.

<sup>69</sup> TNA RG14. Census reference RG14PN7828 RG78PN391 RD144 SD1 ED5 SN231.

<sup>70</sup> TNA RG14. Census references and RG14PN2495 RG78PN84 RD27 SD3 ED11 SN517.

<sup>71</sup> (1911) Fight With Skuas. *Walsall Advertiser*, 12 August p.2.

Edmond Warre remarked of Eton that he only desired 'the good of the place';<sup>72</sup> Barnard of Stamford was said to be 'devoted to the School';<sup>73</sup> and Westcott of Sherborne was reportedly 'benign and sincere', 'spiritual and saintly' and a 'great churchman'.<sup>74</sup> It consequently seems that affection for the school, and its pupils, together with a desire to improve facilities for the benefit of all concerned, were the motivations behind the memorial plans actively promoted by the headmasters under discussion. Donaldson states 'it was, almost without exception, the old boys' associations that took on the responsibility of overseeing the commemorative process',<sup>75</sup> yet it has been firmly demonstrated that, in many instances, headmasters were using commemoration to realise personal dreams of school development. Old boy associations certainly played a central role at some institutions, although often as surrogates, as will be seen in the following section.

### *Governing Bodies in charge*

Frederic Kennedy Wilson Girdlestone came to Charterhouse as a gown boy in 1856, and as a master in 1867.<sup>76</sup> He took an active part in all aspects of school life and it was he who sent out a circular, in November 1900, to the school's alumni informing them of a proposal to erect a Cloister 'to commemorate the events of the recent war in South Africa, and the Old Carthusians who served in it'.<sup>77</sup> As in the case of Eton, there

<sup>72</sup> TPL Arthur Benson diaries. Volume 13, page 35.

<sup>73</sup> Deed, B.L., (1954) *A History of Stamford School*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Brooke Crutchley, University Printer), p.66

<sup>74</sup> Gourlay, A.B., (1951) *A History of Sherborne School*, Winchester: Warren & Son Ltd., The Wykeham Press. pp. 174 and 246.

<sup>75</sup> Donaldson, P., (2013) 'The Commemoration Of The South African War (1899-1902) In British Public Schools' in *History & Memory*, vol.25, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2013), Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press). p.36.

<sup>76</sup> "The Public School Spirit." *Times* [London, England] 1 Nov 1922:7. *Times Digital Archive*. Web. 25 Mar. 2015.

<sup>77</sup> CHA Girdlestone Scrapbook, 1901-1902.

was some argument amongst the old boys, although in this instance it was confined to the pages of the school's magazine, *Carthusian*. 'Toby' thought that a cloister was 'hardly the best way of commemorating' and suggested 'an obelisk or some such monument',<sup>78</sup> whilst 'C.H. Apple' also disapproved of the plan and proposed 'a new wing or gallery' for the chapel,<sup>79</sup> to be illuminated by 'electric light'.<sup>80</sup> 'O.C.' objected to Apple's proposal on the grounds that it was 'unconstitutional' as 'school funds' should be used to finance 'school buildings',<sup>81</sup> and 'M' wondered why it was 'considered necessary to desecrate the beauties of art by hanging from it elaborate ... electroliers' which, he asserted, were 'galling to the artistic eye'.<sup>82</sup> An unnamed correspondent to the Charterhouse journal suggested that 'a massive pile of indifferent architecture benefits nobody except the builder',<sup>83</sup> whilst another, who just signed himself 'T', suggested reducing the school numbers so as to render any building scheme unnecessary.<sup>84</sup> The cloister proposal had been made by a committee of Old Carthusians and it was approved by the Governing Body at its meeting on Saturday 28<sup>th</sup> July 1900, subject to future acceptance of the selected architect and his plans.<sup>85</sup> Authorisation was given for old boys, and the college Works Committee, to confer, and the chosen architect, a Mr William Caroe, presented himself and his plans at a Governing Body meeting the following February.<sup>86</sup> On Friday 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1901 the Governing Body approved the scheme, authorised tender invitations, and agreed to contribute £2,500 toward the cost, thus providing about one third of the necessary

<sup>78</sup> CHA *The Carthusian*. Vol. VIII, No. 254, November 1900, p.24.

<sup>79</sup> CHA *The Carthusian*. Vol. VIII, No. 255, December 1900, p.36

<sup>80</sup> CHA *The Carthusian*. Vol. VIII, No. 258, April 1901, p.75

<sup>81</sup> CHA *The Carthusian*. Vol. VIII, No. 256, February 1901, p.48.

<sup>82</sup> CHA *The Carthusian*. Vol. VIII, No. 273, December 1902, p.282.

<sup>83</sup> CHA *The Carthusian*. Vol. VIII, No.253, October 1900, p.12.

<sup>84</sup> CHA *The Carthusian*. Vol. VIII, No. 261, August 1901, p.123.

<sup>85</sup> CHA Governing Body Minute Book. pp.62-63.

<sup>86</sup> CHA Governing Body Minute Book. p.76.

funds.<sup>87</sup> A total of £7,760 9s. 11d. was eventually raised and, having paid all expenses, a remaining balance of £16 13s. 11 was set aside to form the nucleus of a fund for future panelling.<sup>88</sup>

The detailed deliberations of the Charterhouse Governing Body were not recorded but given that its membership included the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Rochester, plus the Archbishop of Canterbury, and two other clergymen,<sup>89</sup> it is reasonable to suppose that the religious life of the school would have heavily influenced memorial plans. *Carthusian* commented that the 'enlargement of Chapel has become quite a necessity' and suggested that a new one might be built. It admitted, however, that the cost of such a venture would be 'roughly speaking three times as much as the Cloister'.<sup>90</sup> Whilst the latter seems to be largely ornamental, it obviously did provide some additional space to be used for the 'Choir to assemble, to robe, and to practise in' as well as to 'relieve the over-crowded seats' in the existing building.<sup>91</sup> As in the case of Eton, the original proposal survived attacks upon it but, at Charterhouse, the alumni had been the driving force, although at every step they needed the approval, and support, of the Governing Body – a group which, even in the circumstances of its composition, was not tempted to embark on any overly ambitious rebuilding scheme which would have significantly increased the cost.

The initial meeting to consider memorialisation at Cheltenham College was presided over by the Principal. Also in attendance were three members of the College Council,

<sup>87</sup> CHA Governing Body Minute Book. p.83.

<sup>88</sup> *CHA Carthusian*. Vol. IX, No. 296, July 1905, p.162.

<sup>89</sup> CHA Governors of Charterhouse and Governing Body of the School List. Oration Quarter (autumn term) 1900.

<sup>90</sup> *CHA Carthusian*. Vol. VIII, No. 260, July 1901, p. 94.

<sup>91</sup> *CHA Carthusian*. Vol. VIII, No. 260, July 1901, p. 93.

seven masters, the bursar, and 'several other Members of the College Staff'.<sup>92</sup> A 'unanimous resolution was passed in favour of recommending the erecting of the Reredos in the College Chapel' and it was forwarded to Lord James of Hereford, for the information of a general meeting, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Wednesday 27<sup>th</sup> June 1901.<sup>93</sup> James was an excellent choice to present the remembrance plans having been 'the first boy admitted to Cheltenham College when it was founded in 1841' and described by Patrick Jackson as possessing 'elegant good looks and social charm' which 'enabled him to maintain a wide circle of friends in legal, political, artistic, and sporting circles'.<sup>94</sup> In his opening statement at the hotel, James remarked that thirty-six 'Old Cheltonians ... had fallen in the performance of their duty', (the eventual number would reach fifty-four), but he advised that the actual form of memorial should not be decided until all subscriptions had been collected.<sup>95</sup> The headmaster was involved in making a proposal to nevertheless place a permanent memorial and a heavyweight committee of fifty-three individuals was subsequently chosen to carry matters forward. That committee comprised a collection of members of parliament; baronets; senior clergy; military men, up to the rank of General; a member of the judiciary; and three of the college staff, plus Prince Francis of Teck, a brother of Queen Mary, queen consort to the future King George V. Only fourteen of those elected to the committee could claim no higher, honorific or professional title than 'Mr' but the common denominator was that they were all old Cheltonians and, as Lord James observed, they shared ties 'which bound them to the old school' and were

<sup>92</sup> Occupations ascertained by reference to TNA RG13. 1901 England, Wales & Scotland Census.

<sup>93</sup> CCA *Cheltonian*. Second series, vol. XXVII, August & September 1901, p.190.

<sup>94</sup> Patrick Jackson, 'James, Henry, Baron James of Hereford (1828–1911)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34149>, accessed 28 June 2015].

<sup>95</sup> 'The War' *Times* [London, England] 27 June 1901:6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 31 Mar. 2015.

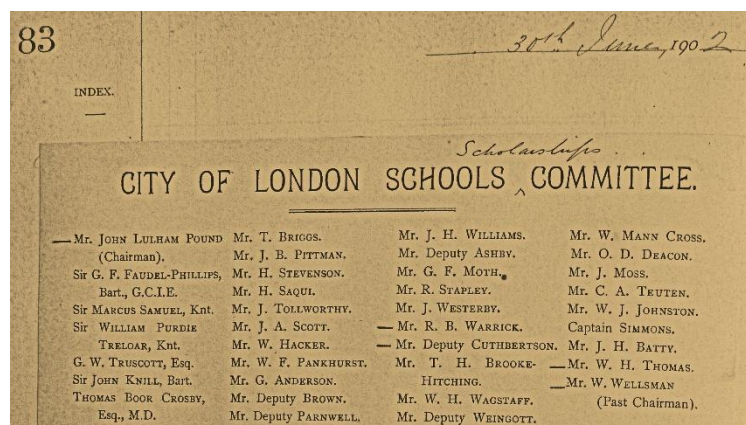
united in a 'common grief'.<sup>96</sup> The College got its Reredos, plus an outside memorial, so, as with Charterhouse the alumni did the work but the inner circle of the institution achieved its original ambition.

The Governing Body at City of London, known in this case as the *School Committee*, was a group which 'resolved unanimously' to accept an incognito donor's 'valuable gift' of £3,000 to establish a 'Journalistic Scholarship to commemorate the life and work' of one of its former pupils – war correspondent George Steevens – and it set up a special account at the 'London City and Midland Bank Ltd' in the names of the 'Chairman and the past Chairman' to receive instalment payments of the donation.<sup>97</sup> In the period of a minute book which ran from June 1901 to December 1902, the full *Committee* comprised thirty-seven individuals, some of whom were appointed as deputies for others, and a practice was developed whereby a printed slip of all the names would be pasted above the minutes of a particular meeting with a mark being made against just those individuals in attendance. Using this system, it was a simple matter to appoint a sub-committee, made up of some of the thirty-seven names, and amend the slip to reflect the title of the new group. The following header to the minutes of a *Scholarships Committee*, formed to deal with matters pertaining to the memorial to George Steevens, shows that five individuals attended a meeting of that group held on Monday 30<sup>th</sup> June 1902.

<sup>96</sup> CCA *Cheltonian*. Second Series, vol. XXVII, Aug & Sep 1901, p.187.

<sup>97</sup> LMA COL/CC/CLSS/01/01/65. City of London Minute Book, June 1901-December 1902, p. 72-73 and 94-95.





Details of two of the committee members are too vague to enable them to be traced but the remaining three were all men of business – Lulham-Pound, a leather goods manufacturer;<sup>98</sup> Wellsman, an advertising contractor,<sup>99</sup> and Warrick, a retired merchant.<sup>100</sup> City of London, therefore, handled memorial plans in the same way as Charterhouse and Cheltenham, the only difference being that it entrusted matters to a sub-committee comprised of businessmen-members of its Governing Body rather than the Old Boys Association.

Harrow began its memorial considerations on Saturday 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1901 when the headmaster, Dr Joseph Wood, called a general meeting at the school's Vaughan Library, itself a memorial to a previous headmaster. Thirty-five men were in attendance and Dr Wood opened the proceedings by explaining that he had received many letters regarding memorial form, most of them hoping that it would be connected with the Chapel. The matter had obviously been the subject of some previous consideration, because a report from architect Arnold Mitchell, commissioned by house-master Edward Graham and assistant-master Edward Butler, was then read to those assembled. It was resolved that a small executive committee be appointed to

<sup>98</sup> TNA RG13. 1901 England, Wales & Scotland Census. Piece number 196, Folio 88, Page 217.

<sup>99</sup> TNA RG13. 1901 England, Wales & Scotland Census. Piece number 1224, Folio 64, Page 22.

<sup>100</sup> TNA RG13. 1901 England, Wales & Scotland Census. Piece number 246, Folio 121, Page 2.

seek expert opinion as to the possibility of enlarging the Chapel and to ascertain the name of an architect of whom the Governors would approve.

Eight individuals, including house-master Graham and an additional master, Henry Davidson, were nominated for the committee, together with two Honorary Secretaries, one being assistant-master Butler and the other John Williams, who had been head of English at Harrow prior to his retirement. Dr Wood was to act as the committee's chairman. The general meeting next convened on Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup> July 1901, at the Park Lane home of Lord Tweedmouth, himself an old Harrovian. The headmaster was in the chair, and plans, which had meantime been prepared by the architectural partnership of Aston Webb and Edward Ingress Bell, were considered. Three speakers asked for more definite estimates with regard to foundations, as they recalled that difficulties had been previously experienced in relation to the new Drawing School and Speech-room. The executive committee was thanked for its work and authorised to incur necessary expenses in finding out more about the foundations before a meeting of Old Harrovians to be called in November and chaired by Lord Spencer. As had been the case with Cheltenham, the choice to chair a meeting of alumni was carefully made. John Poyntz Spencer had entered Harrow in Easter 1848 and though not prominent in academic studies, had developed a lifelong interest in cricket as well as taking an active part in the debating society. 'Reflecting on the merits of rival contenders' for the post of prime minister in July 1894, William Gladstone favoured Spencer ahead of Harcourt and Rosebery remarking he has 'decidedly more of that very important quality termed weight' – a quality well suited to the task of reaching

general agreement on memorial plans and securing the funds necessary to see them through.<sup>101</sup>

Attached to the Harrow Memorial Minute book is a letter, dated Saturday 21<sup>st</sup> September 1901, from Webb and Bell, explaining that experimental drill holes had ascertained that the depth of the foundations below the chapel was 4' 6" and that there was no reason to depart from the original estimate. The November meeting took place at the Westminster Palace Hotel and the headmaster explained the steps already taken by the general and executive committees. Special mention was made of the fact that plans had been prepared by Mr Aston Webb A.R.A, and sanctioned by the Governors, and the meeting unanimously passed the resolutions before it, leaving Dr Wood with the straightforward task of sending out letters, dated Sunday 1<sup>st</sup> December 1901, inviting recipients to return memorial subscriptions to Honorary Secretary Butler at the school. The Harrow Governors had remained in the shadows throughout and headmaster Wood had acted as the link between them and the two committees, but there can be no doubt that the Governors had been in ultimate control and had perhaps flexed their muscle in relation to the choice of architect.

The Governing Body at Winchester also maintained a firm grip on memorial plans. Basil Champneys had designed the museum at Winchester in 1898, so he was an obvious choice to give an opinion as to the type of memorial scheme the institution

<sup>101</sup> W. E. Gladstone, memorandum, 25 July 1894, BL, Add. MS 44790, fols. 145-146, quoted in Peter Gordon, 'Spencer, John Poyntz, fifth Earl Spencer (1835–1910)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36209>, accessed 28 June 2015]

should embark upon.<sup>102</sup> An executive committee had been formed and it provided Champneys with nine suggestions, four of them concerning schemes within the College Chapel, and five outside. Champneys carefully considered all nine propositions and documented his findings to the committee. He approved two of the nine schemes, one from each category. Within the chapel, his preference was for a sculptural design, to cover an entire, windowed, wall, whilst outside he favoured a memorial gateway at the entrance to the College precincts by way of Kingsgate Street. In relation to the inside proposal, Champneys felt that possible future extensions to the chapel might have an adverse effect on the plans now being considered and that conformity to an established type of architecture would, to some degree, be necessary and consequently, to an extent, limiting. He considered the gateway idea to be free from limitations and therefore, on the whole, preferable. A meeting of Wykehamists,<sup>103</sup> was called for Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> December 1900 at which the chair would be taken by Lord Selborne,<sup>104</sup> an ex-pupil of the college, and, again, a person ideally suited to the task at hand, judging from a comment by D. George Boyce to the effect that Selborne 'had the capacity to get the best out of those responsible to him'.<sup>105</sup> Under Lord Selborne's chairmanship, the gathering unanimously agreed that a memorial should be created; that subscriptions be invited, and that a committee be appointed to whom the whole question should be referred.

<sup>102</sup> M. S. Briggs, 'Champneys, Basil (1842–1935)', rev. Michael W. Brooks, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32357, accessed 4 April 2015].

<sup>103</sup> Past and present members of Winchester College, from the name William of Wykeham (1324 - 1404), bishop of Winchester and founder of the college.

<sup>104</sup> G. W. RICKETTS. "Wykehamist War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 5 Dec. 1900: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 29 June 2015.

<sup>105</sup> D. George Boyce, 'Palmer, William Waldegrave, second earl of Selborne (1859–1942)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008. [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35373, accessed 29 June 2015].

The Governing Body at Winchester comprises, in accordance with its Statute V, a Warden and Fellows, some members of the latter being elected by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the Royal Society, plus one appointed by the Lord Chief Justice of England.<sup>106</sup> This requirement resulted in a group of men from a number of different educational backgrounds who could, perhaps, look more objectively at proposals being made to them than if they were, necessarily, Old Wykehamists themselves. Reading through the minutes of their meetings gives a firm impression that memorialisation matters took their place on the agenda on an equal footing with other business. For example, at the gathering held on Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> July 1902 reports from the Estates Committee and that on Sanitary Matters were read; certain Deeds and Conveyances were ordered to be sealed; a request from the King, to grant an extra holiday week in commemoration of his coronation, was granted, and certain charitable and scholarship schemes were approved. In amongst the business so far described, the group also acceded to an application from a Mrs Fyffe to place a brass, of an approved design and inscription, in the cloisters in memory of her late son, and endorsed plans and designs submitted by the *Wykehamist South African Memorial Committee* for the gateway which was eventually built at Kingsgate Street. The Winchester Governing Body ultimately reserved to itself approval of any such schemes and not all were successful. An index page of their Minute Book lists sixteen names under the heading *Cloister, Brass to the memory of* and shows the word *allowed* against thirteen of them with *declined* being entered against the remaining three. Of the thirteen allowed only three were passed by the Body at their first consideration. Mrs Fyffe's request, for example, initially came before the Governors

<sup>106</sup> *Winchester College* [Online]. Available: <http://www.winchestercollege.org/governing-body>. [Accessed 27 September 2015].

on Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1902 at which time consideration of her application was postponed. The following 30<sup>th</sup> April, a Wednesday, the matter was 'considered and adjourned'; then, on Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> July, 'a design and inscription' were both submitted and approved.<sup>107</sup>

Mr G.W. Ricketts, and 'other old Wykehamists', applied, on Wednesday 24<sup>th</sup> January 1906, 'for leave to place in Cloisters a tablet to the memory of the late Gilbert Maule Jones, formerly a Commoner,<sup>108</sup> at the School', but it was resolved that consent to 'this application [should] stand adjourned'.<sup>109</sup> The matter was again considered by the Governing Body on Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> March 1906 with the result that the Secretary was instructed to inform the applicants that 'The Warden and Fellows' were unable to allow the placing of a tablet by reason of 'limited' available 'space'.<sup>110</sup> The same reason was given at that meeting to refuse a request from Colonel Luttmann-Johnson, D.S.O.,<sup>111</sup> to place a tablet to the memory of his late brother, James Arthur Luttmann-Johnson. The Reverend Francis Warre-Cornish, Vice Provost of Eton College,<sup>112</sup> made an application to place a brass in memory of his late son to the same meeting as Mrs Fyffe made her initial request and, as in her case, the matter was postponed. When Warre-Cornish's supplication was re-considered at the following meeting, however, it was 'not acceded to' and no reason was given.<sup>113</sup> The Winchester minute book ran from 1901 to 1907 and comprised some 500 pages. The refusals given to Mr Ricketts and

<sup>107</sup> WCA Winchester Minute Book. 1901-1907, pp. 38, 54, 62 and 64.

<sup>108</sup> Paying pupil staying as a guest of the Head, or other Masters, in their official College apartments.

<sup>109</sup> WCA Winchester Minute Book. 1901-1907 pp. 404 and 406.

<sup>110</sup> WCA Winchester Minute Book. 1901-1907 pp. 444.

<sup>111</sup> Distinguished Service Order, a decoration for distinguished service awarded to officers of the army and navy, instituted in 1886.

<sup>112</sup> TNA RG13. 1901 England, Wales & Scotland Census. Piece number 1342, Folio 67, Page 50.

<sup>113</sup> WCA Winchester Minute Book. 1901-1907, pp. 38 and 52.

Colonel Luttmann-Johnson appear on page 444, dated Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> March 1906, by which time available space in the cloister might well have been limited. The decision to refuse the Reverend Warre-Cornish, however, appears on page fifty-two, dated Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> April 1902, when space was evidently not a problem as the latest request to be allowed was recorded, but undated, on page 404. It is consequently clear that memorial proposals from both Wykehamists and those of influence could not be relied upon to be automatically passed by Winchester's Governing Body and it can be inferred that their decisions were therefore of the head rather than of the heart.

At some other locations old boys initiated schemes and were successfully able to have them brought to fruition. Further, the work and financial contribution of past pupils would then be recognised in wording which would be eventually inscribed on brasses, monuments, and tablets, and these matters will be comprehensively discussed in the following section.

### *Old Boys in contention*

Honey points out that the 'Old Boy phenomenon really dates from ... the 1870s onwards, when even the humblest would-be public school held an Old Boys' Dinner' and had 'started an Old Boys' Association'.<sup>114</sup> Such opportunities to meet naturally provided perfect occasions on which past pupils could initiate war commemoration. The magazine of St John's, Leatherhead, wondered what form the school's memorial should take but concluded that, by the time its speculation appeared in print, the matter would 'probably have been settled by the general meeting at the O.J.[Old Johnian's]

<sup>114</sup> Honey, J.R. de S., (1977) *Tom Brown's Universe: The Development Of The Victorian Public School*, London: Millington Books Limited. p.153.

Dinner'.<sup>115</sup> Similarly at Maidstone Grammar the proposal to commission a window was made at the Old Maidstonians' 1900 annual supper,<sup>116</sup> whilst at the fifth annual dinner of the Old Langtonian Association, held on Thursday 20<sup>th</sup> November 1902, 'one speaker' suggested that an 'In Memoriam' tablet be erected at the school and the suggestion 'met with a hearty response'.<sup>117</sup>

As recently mentioned, a comment included on the school's memorial often indicates that it owes its genesis to ex-pupil organisations. The tablet at St Albans Grammar records that it was erected by the Old Boys Club whilst that at Downside, near Bath, points out that The St Gregory Society was responsible for its placement'.<sup>118</sup> Below the commemorative window at Rugby School a tablet declares that it was set by Rugbeians and at Ayr the opening line on the memorial brass announces that the Ayr Academy Club was behind its fabrication. An ornate tablet placed beside a memorial window at Marlborough College asserts that both were given by Old Marlburians whilst a simpler stone at Cranleigh records that it was erected by Old Cranleighans. Old School-fellows, pupils of the Burton Grammar School, are shown as placing a tablet in Burton Parish Church in memory of their colleague, Henry Corbett Gorton. Old School-fellows was also the phrase used at Warwick School which, incidentally, claims to be 'the oldest boys' school in England, having been 'in continuous existence at least from the days of King Edward the Confessor'.<sup>119</sup> Newport Road, in the Leyton

<sup>115</sup> SJL *Johnian Magazine*. 1906.

<sup>116</sup> MGS *Maidstonian*. Volume. 11, no 3, Christmas 1900, p.68.

<sup>117</sup> SLB *Langtonian*. December 1902 p.105.

<sup>118</sup> Former pupils of Downside School are known as Old Gregorians and on payment of a subscription, become Life Members of St Gregory's Society.

<sup>119</sup> *Warwick School* [Online]. Available <http://www.warwickschool.org/School-History>. [Accessed 1 October 2015].



area of London, chose the phrase Old Boys, and Highgate School, also in London, selected the, perhaps more formal, expression Former Members.

Sometimes, the memorial reveals that contemporaneous pupils were responsible. At Merchant Taylors', Crosby, the inscription reads 'this panel was erected by the boys of the School',<sup>120</sup> whilst at Farnborough 'this tablet was erected by the boys ... to the memory of the ... old boys'.<sup>121</sup> At Edinburgh Academy a memorial shield carries the message that it was commissioned by members of the same class as Lieutenant Lewis Balfour Bradbury – the academy's only Boer War fatality. On occasions, old boys *did* completely take over the commemoration process, whilst on others they *seemed* to do so. It was natural that an old boy involvement to the exclusion of all others should take place at Westminster School where an Old Westminster War Memorial Committee was already in existence, having been formed, by the Elizabethan Club,<sup>122</sup> to consider memorialisation of the school's dead in the Indian Mutiny and Crimean War. The school's magazine was confident that the Club was the correct body to consider memorialisation, announcing that it had 'the dearest interests of Westminster, past, present, and future, at heart'.<sup>123</sup> A memorial fund was set up and subscribers met on Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> December 1904 to discuss the committee's suggestion of a tablet, for placement within the school. Some debate as to whether the Abbey, which one speaker contended was always regarded, and spoken of, as the school's chapel, was a preferable location. Sir Clements Markham, who chaired the proceedings, and had also been secretary for the Crimean Memorial movement, recalled that the matter had

<sup>120</sup> Hildrey, T. (T.Hildrey@merchanttaylor.com), 2012. Boer War Memorial. 4 July. Email to: Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>121</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 75.

<sup>122</sup> Westminster School's Alumni Association.

<sup>123</sup> WSA *Elizabethan*. June 1904 pp. 39-40.

been thoroughly discussed before, with the result that the majority favoured the school and not the Abbey. The committee's suggestion was accepted, and it was empowered to carry the matter to a conclusion.<sup>124</sup>

At Bloxham, Banbury, it seems inevitable that old-boy Charles John Wilson should have become treasurer of the memorial fund, and the organiser of a plaque in memory of the five former pupils who lost their lives. Wilson became the school's first boarder when he joined in 1860 and he would, in turn, fill the roles of prefect, senior-prefect, head-of-school, assistant-master, second-master and sub-bursar.<sup>125</sup> He was celebrated for his footballing and cricketing abilities and would have been known to every boy who had passed through the school from its opening day. Editions of the school magazine give the impression that Wilson was totally immersed in Bloxham life and he did not actually retire until 1936, having been associated, for an astonishing seventy-six years, with the school as boy, master and old-boy.<sup>126</sup> The first choice of memorial had been for a stained-glass window but, at the same time as funds were being raised, the institution was engaged in an appeal for a new gymnasium which the headmaster, George Herbert Ward, deemed the most pressing need. Ward wrote to former pupils in September 1901 asking that subscriptions for the memorial be sent to C.J. Wilson,<sup>127</sup> but, in the end, monies were more easily collected for the gymnasium project rather than the memorial, with the result that the former opened in the Michaelmas Term of 1903 whilst the plaque, which took the place of the window, was unveiled on All Saints' Day 1904.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>124</sup> WSA *Elizabethan*. February 1905, pp.126-127.

<sup>125</sup> OLB *Bloxhamist*. Volume LXI, October 1936, no 439, p.3.

<sup>126</sup> OLB *Bloxhamist*. Volume LXII, March 1939, no 1, p. 4.

<sup>127</sup> OLB *Bloxhamist*. Volume XXVI, November 1901, no. 266, p. 186.

<sup>128</sup> OLB *Bloxhamist*. Volume XXX, November 1904, no.290, p. 290.

The headmaster of Chatham House Grammar School, Ramsgate, received a letter from a past pupil who wanted to take on a remembrance project all by himself. 'May I have your permission', he wrote, 'to place a brass memorial tablet in the ... Chapel': 'I observe', the correspondent continued, 'that the public schools are arranging for memorials to their Old Boys, and I should like very much to provide one for my Old School'.<sup>129</sup> The matter was reported in the *Chatham House Review* of December 1900 and in the next, February, edition it was mentioned that other alumni had 'written to say they would like to contribute'.<sup>130</sup> Those others keen to donate also wished to put forward alternative suggestions and mention was made of a 'stained-glass window' and 'a drinking fountain',<sup>131</sup> but in the end a tablet was indeed commissioned and at its foot appear the words 'Erected by Subscription'.<sup>132</sup>

Perhaps nowhere did old boys quite so blatantly *appear* to take charge as at St Paul's, London. Here, John Harris, Honorary Secretary of the Old Paulines' Club, wrote to the editor of the school magazine, in late 1902, to say that the committee 'have the matter in hand' and have 'decided that the monument should take the form of a pillar'.<sup>133</sup> The word '*appear*' is used above because the Club's president, at the time, was Sir Cecil Clementi-Smith who, along with Honorary Secretary Harris himself, was also a governor of the school. Harris' declaration turned out to be something of an understatement, as the substantial monument which was unveiled three-and-a-half years later was 'circular in plan with a base of three steps surmounted by seven

<sup>129</sup> CHG *Chatham House Review*. December 19<sup>th</sup> 1900, number 272.

<sup>130</sup> CHG *Chatham House Review*. February 20<sup>th</sup> 1901, number 273.

<sup>131</sup> CHG *Chatham House Review*. March 1<sup>st</sup> 1905, number 308.

<sup>132</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 94.

<sup>133</sup> SPS *Pauline*. November 1902.

columns of the Tuscan Order, and an entablature with a panelled and ribbed copper dome', in the centre of which was a 'drinking fountain, with stone panels and copper tablets'.<sup>134</sup> This impressive memorial was unveiled before Clementi-Smith, Harris and six other governors, one of whom also acted as Honorary Treasurer to the memorial fund, so, even if the old boys of St Paul's had taken charge, their number included three governors with a further five taking an active interest in, at least, the final stage of the memorialisation project.

But to return to indicative inscriptions on memorials, it is more common, on those examined for this thesis, to find references to a broader constituency. At Malvern, Sedbergh, Radley, Weymouth College, St George's School, Harpenden, and St Clare's Preparatory, Walmer, the memorials include the words *erected by schoolfellows and friends*. Elstree School preferred the word *companions* in place of friends; Windlesham preferred *friends and boys*; St Edmund's, Salisbury, selected *scholars, ex-scholars and friends*; Beaumont, at Old Windsor, *old boys and friends*; and at Hele's School, Exeter, and Shrewsbury, the inscriptions read *admiring friends and a token of their schoolfellows admiration and regret*, respectively. *Past and present masters*, and/or *boys/members/schoolfellows*, were the phrases employed at St Andrew's, Tenby; Eastbourne College, Newport School, Shropshire; All-Hallows, Honiton; Ardvreck; Framlingham; Victoria College, Jersey; Kelly College, Tavistock, and Eastbourne College. Perhaps surprising, the only reference to the family members of the dead, amongst the memorials studied, is at The Leys, Cambridge, where the

<sup>134</sup> SPS Pauline. November 1906, p.169.

inscription reads 'Placed here by their relatives and the Governing Body of the School who mourn their death and honour their deeds'.<sup>135</sup>

Many of the memorial schemes being discussed needed a charismatic personality to promote them and/or organise the collection of funds, and in some cases, notably that of Edmund Warre at Eton College, the necessary qualities were to be found in the headmaster. In the majority of instances, however, a person of presence, charm, and power of attraction could be sourced amongst the old boys and, without resistance, he could be persuaded to spearhead a memorial project. Charterhouse found Girdlestone, the 'gown boy', who became master; 'played in the school band'; 'managed the tuck-shop', 'bought playing-fields' with its 'profits'; and 'took boys hunting'.<sup>136</sup> Cheltenham, Harrow and Winchester found Lords James, Spencer and Selborne respectively and Westminster found Markham, the geographer whose adventures took him to South America and on an exploration of the Arctic.<sup>137</sup> Bloxham found Wilson, the sports hero whom everyone knew, and St Paul's found Clementi-Smith, the 'brilliant intellectual' who was 'proficient' in 'Cantonese and Mandarin'.<sup>138</sup> Force of personality was therefore, possibly, the most important quality which old boys brought to the commissioning process.

<sup>135</sup> Huggins, Dennis, 2014. *Leys School Memorial Tablet* [Photograph].

<sup>136</sup> "The Public School Spirit." *Times* [London, England] 1 Nov. 1922: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 July 2015.

<sup>137</sup> Elizabeth Baigent, 'Markham, Sir Clements Robert (1830–1916)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34880, accessed 1 July 2015].

<sup>138</sup> *SingaporeInfopedia: An electronic encyclopedia on Singapore's history, culture, people and events* [Online] Available http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/index.htm [Accessed 27 September 2015].

### Conclusion

Perhaps the most democratic of the schools studied here was Clifton College where a questionnaire, shown below,<sup>139</sup> was circulated to past pupils. Recipients were invited to vote for the type of memorial they most favoured but to make a donation irrespective of that eventually chosen. They were further asked to subscribe an even greater amount should that eventual type turn out to be the one for which they had voted.

**Old Cliftonian Memorial.**

*I will subscribe \_\_\_\_\_ to whatever memorial is decided upon, and a further sum of \_\_\_\_\_ if the form which I vote for below is adopted.*

*Personally I am in favour of:—*

<b>A SEPARATE MEMORIAL ON TERRACE.</b>	
<b>A GATEHOUSE IN COLLEGE ROAD.</b>	
<b>A MONUMENTAL ANTECHAPEL OPEN TOWARDS QUADRANGLE.</b>	

*I enclose cheque for \_\_\_\_\_*

*Signed:—(Name) \_\_\_\_\_*  
*(Address) \_\_\_\_\_*  
*(Years at School) \_\_\_\_\_*

Even in the Clifton College case, however, the headmaster, or the governors, or the past/present pupils, had given possible memorial schemes some prior thought and decided to offer a choice of only a particular three to those who would eventually foot the bill. The vote winner was *a separate memorial on terrace*,<sup>140</sup> but interestingly, and to the eventual satisfaction of whoever was responsible for suggestion two on the ballot paper, *a gatehouse in College Road*, would become the choice for the institution's memorial to those who perished in WWI.

<sup>139</sup> Photographed, with permission, at Clifton College, Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2012.

<sup>140</sup> The completed memorial is the subject of the photograph on the opening page of Chapter Five, *Unveiling Ceremonies*.

Donaldson contends that 'old boys' exerted a 'controlling influence in' and 'seized control of' memorialisation processes and schemes,<sup>141</sup> but in the schools analysed in this chapter that influence and control mostly lay elsewhere and the role of the old boys was to use their personalities to provide democratic approval and to organise the detailed work necessary to bring schemes into fruition. A vital part of that work was the collection of funds and it was in this particular area that the alumni of each school played a most important part. Many of them had entered into professions and careers which made them financially successful and secure, so that they were in a position to donate to whatever causes attracted their attention and appealed to their pockets. The recognition and memorialisation of the war efforts of former school friends and colleagues, together with the opportunity to demonstrate that recognition by having it recorded on the plaques, brasses and monuments chosen, resulted in the successful and, in most cases, fairly easy collection of large monetary sums.

In one particular instance, that of the *Bristol Grammar School Old Boys' Society*, the Boer War became the reason to create a fraternity of ex-pupils, and it was inaugurated on Friday 26<sup>th</sup> October 1900. Charles Peter Hill comments that this 'was a natural development' and 'its formation at this particular time reflects the emotions aroused by the presence of a fair number of former pupils of the School in the South African fighting'.<sup>142</sup> It was the task of those old boys who were able to use their social skills to influence others to stir such emotions and, as has been noted, many were particularly picked for that purpose. The emotion was so strong and the raising of funds so successful that several Old Boys' Societies have become one of the lasting

<sup>141</sup> Donaldson, 'The Commemoration Of The South African War', 58 and 37.

<sup>142</sup> Hill, *The History of Bristol Grammar School*, 163.

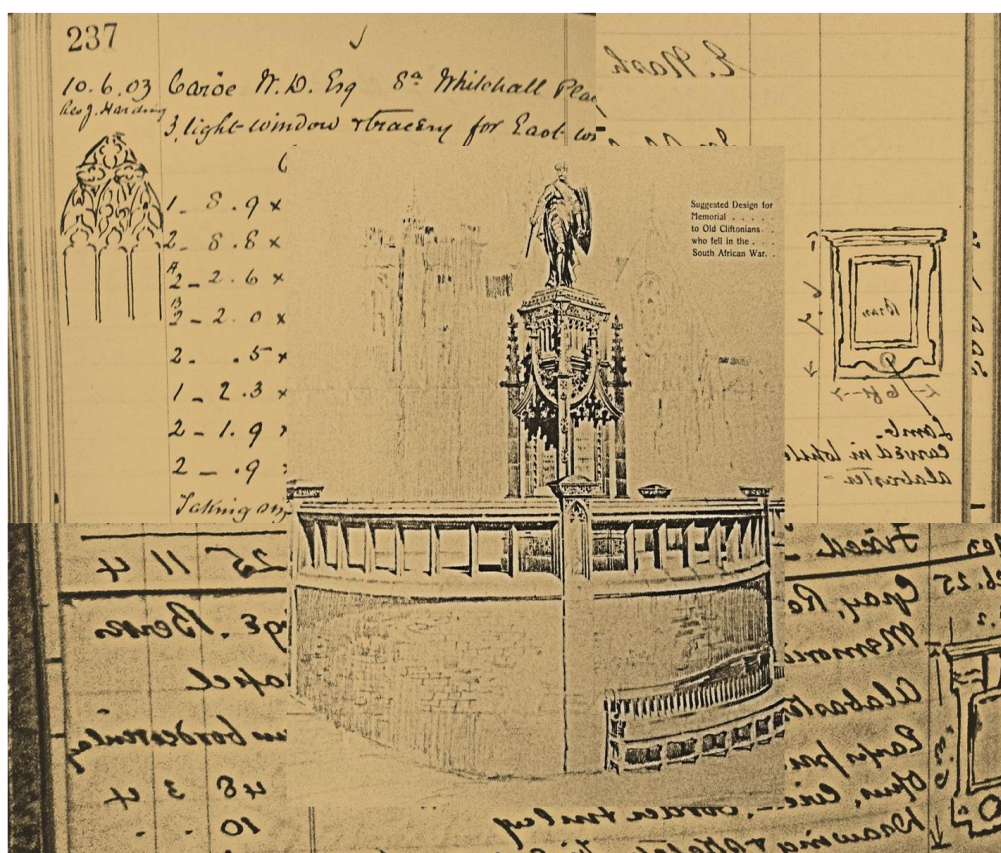
consequences of the South African conflict. Without it, some might not have been formed at all or, if previously established, might have faded away in the early twentieth century from a lack of purpose. The development of such societies doubtless well suited individual schools which were able to enlist their help with funding. They could also provide a mechanism by which the schools kept in contact with their alumni, and the alumni with the schools – something which it has been demonstrated both sides were keen to do, even on a long-term basis.

Headmasters brought their personal dreams to the task of commissioning and old boys brought their personalities. The charge was of such great importance however that it was eventually groups, such as governing bodies, which made the final decision. They chose a great variety of memorial forms, often dependant on whether they wished the result to be utilitarian or ornamental, didactic or allegorical; but at other times solely dependent on the finance available and the appetite for memorialisation. Their aim throughout was not just to commemorate the dead, but also to enhance the reputation of the school. The various memorial forms which were chosen, together with the designers, sculptors, and artists who created, or constructed them, will be comprehensively considered in the next chapter.



# Chapter Four

## *Memorial Design and Construction*



Collage compiled from photographs taken at, and with the permission of:

Clifton College, Bristol, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1912

and

V & A Archive, Blythe House, Olympia, London, 19<sup>th</sup> November 2013

## *Chapter Four - Memorial Design, Building and Construction*

### *Introduction*

The previous chapter demonstrated that the memorial commissioning process was controlled either by individuals, usually headmasters, or by groups, such as governing bodies or old boys. It fell to whichever individual or body involved to decide on the type of memorial and its design; sometimes with the assistance of outside agencies such as architects, draughtsmen and memorial manufacturers. The Victoria and Albert Museum's *Guide to Period Styles* describes the background to British art and design, as it stood at the end of the nineteenth century. 'By the time Victoria came to the throne in 1837', explains the *Guide*, 'a plethora of styles was available to her subjects' yet as trade, and the Empire, expanded, even more sources for design became available.<sup>1</sup> Design reformers, 'concerned that their age lacked any style it could call its own', debated over the wide variety now available, with the result that the period leading up to the Boer War developed as 'the most eclectic and visually complex ... in the history of British design'.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, mode and form became aligned with values and principles; it being argued, by some, that style expressed the moral condition of the society from whence it came. Against this background, and toward the end of Victoria's reign, craft and design, in Britain, became dominated by the Arts and Crafts Movement, an organisation which grew out of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society and was 'spearheaded', according to Mary Greensted, 'by the generation born in the 1850s and 1860s'.<sup>3</sup> The movement was 'based on functional design, on the human desire to make things, and on nature as the primary source of

<sup>1</sup> Jackson, A., with Hinton, M., (2006) *The V&A Guide To Period Styles: 400 Years Of British Art And Design*, first published 2002, London: V&A Publications. p.7.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Greensted, M., (2010) *The Arts And Crafts Movement in Britain*, Oxford: Shire Publications. p.7.

pattern'.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, it had a 'strong social and moral core' – the individuals involved being 'convinced that any participation in design and handiwork could improve the quality of people's lives'.<sup>5</sup> Many of those who would become responsible for the form and design of memorials being discussed in this chapter were born mid-nineteenth-century and, bearing in mind the period's style debate, and a general interest in shape, appearance, and materials, it was of great importance to schools, and bereaved relatives, that their task be completed in the best way possible.

In the case of Eton College, the responsibility for design was considered of sufficient consequence to be delegated to a group named the Committee of Taste and Design which pondered the requirements advanced by the Executive Committee and offered advice as to the way forward. Eton therefore put a further step in place to bridge the gap between those who commissioned the memorials and those who brought them into being and this chapter will firstly consider the work of that Eton Taste and Design sub-committee. Eton was unique, amongst the institutions covered by this study, in adding such a sub-committee to its commissioning process, yet, and perhaps without it being specifically realised, each school group and individual involved must, for the reasons already put forward, have carefully considered design and material.

Following reflections on Eton's committee of taste, the chapter will consider various types of memorial, under the headings Stained-glass, Statues & tablets, and Memorials Utilitarian & Ornamental. Along the way, it will give thought to heroic masculinity, the placing of memorialisation against a Christian background, and, how the defeated

<sup>4</sup> Greensted, M., (2010) *The Arts And Crafts Movement in Britain*, Oxford: Shire Publications. p.7.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

enemy appeared when metaphorically represented in design. The section will move on to provide a comprehensive examination of the designers, architects and manufacturers involved in translating the various school memorial plans into realities. Finally, it will take the opportunity to discuss gender, both in relation to design and the war experiences of an additional handful of Victorian schools – each specifically providing education for girls.

The principal argument of the chapter though is that, in the case of schools, memorial design was of huge importance because it was intended to reflect those values with which the institutions wished to be associated. The erection of a memorial was a long-term commitment to the space which it would occupy. Thoughtfully designed and placed, its justification would be to provide a focal point for didactic example and the endorsement of ethos, in addition to perhaps serving a practical purpose whilst also providing possible comfort to the bereaved.

### *Eton's Committee of Taste and Design*

The Eton Taste and Design group was set up at a meeting of the Executive Committee held at the Albemarle Street home of publisher John Murray, on Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> February 1903 and it comprised Lord Windsor, as chairman, Robert Hugh Benson, Sir Lionel Henry Cust, and Montague Rhodes James.<sup>6</sup> Windsor, who possessed a 'genuine and informed interest in art', was, at the time of his appointment, also a 'member of the committee of the national memorial to Queen Victoria, which made plans for a new approach to Buckingham Palace, [by] realigning and laying out the Mall as a splendid

<sup>6</sup> ECA, MISC/EMF/1. Minute book 1900-1910.

ceremonial avenue'.<sup>7</sup> Cust was an art historian, sometime chairman of the Art for Schools Association, and a director of the National Portrait Gallery,<sup>8</sup> whilst Benson was a writer, poet, priest, and brother to the college tutor and diarist, Arthur Benson, mentioned in Chapter Three.<sup>9</sup> James was a college head, scholar and author; described by Richard Pfaff as standing 'on a high peak in terms of accomplishment and on the very highest in terms of the congeniality of scholarship at its best'.<sup>10</sup> In addition to his other work, James had been assistant director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, from 1889, in which role he concerned himself with 'iconographic studies of medieval art'.<sup>11</sup> Three of the four committee members were therefore very well qualified for the task ahead, by reason of their close association with art and design. Benson appears to have been included on the strength of his connections with Eton as a scholar, brother to a tutor, and through his work among poor people at the Eton mission, Hackney Wick.<sup>12</sup> All four, however, were Old Etonians, a qualification which was seemingly essential for anyone connected with the College memorialisation plans.

Over the course of the next seven years Eton's Committee of Taste, as it became known, considered several topics related to remembrance proposals and was

<sup>7</sup> Jan Piggott, 'Clive, Robert George Windsor-, first earl of Plymouth (1857–1923)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, May 2012; online edn, Sept 2012 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62036, [accessed 22 July 2015].

<sup>8</sup> Laurence Binyon, 'Cust, Sir Lionel Henry (1859–1929)', rev. Christopher Lloyd, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32684, [accessed 22 July 2015].

<sup>9</sup> C. C. Martindale, 'Benson, Robert Hugh (1871–1914)', rev. Robert Brown, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30718, [accessed 22 July 2015].

<sup>10</sup> Richard W. Pfaff, 'James, Montague Rhodes (1862–1936)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34152, [accessed 22 July 2015].

<sup>11</sup> *Dictionary of Art Historians* [Online] Available: <https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/jamesm.htm>. [accessed 12 October 2015].

<sup>12</sup> C. C. Martindale, 'Benson, Robert Hugh (1871–1914)', rev. Robert Brown, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30718, [accessed 12 Oct 2015].

surprisingly painstaking in its search for the best possible presentation of any memorial material. The positioning and appearance of casualty names on seven panels to be placed in Lupton's Chantry, for example, was very fully debated to the extent that a 'greater impressiveness of treatment' was being considered as late as December 1908, well over six years after the war had ended.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the best indication of the committee's work, however, can be found in its approach to the redecoration of the college chapel. A 'large piece of tapestry, representing "The Star of Bethlehem", designed by Burne-Jones,<sup>14</sup> and executed at William Morris's looms',<sup>15</sup> had been presented to Eton during the 1890s by the Reverend H.E. Luxmoore.<sup>16</sup> The committee decided to utilise this piece of work in preliminary experiments at the east end of the Chapel. They added two painted cartoons, also designed by Edward Burne-Jones, as side wings and encased the whole in a frame as a triptych, which was then, temporarily, erected to cover a wall. 'The effect', the committee reported, 'has proved unexpectedly fine' and, whilst 'the richness of colour is still affected by the glare of the great East window', members felt that they had 'succeeded in initiating experiments to reduce the crudeness of the [window's] coloured glass'.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, and despite having incurred some expense in the experimentation, the committee was 'not prepared to recommend [the scheme's] adoption as a permanency' as it was inclined to 'regard the trial as furnishing a standard to be surpassed if possible'.<sup>18</sup> In the event, that standard must have proved largely unsurpassable as the reredos was eventually

<sup>13</sup> ECA, Misc/EMF/1. Minute book 1900-1910

<sup>14</sup> Commas added.

<sup>15</sup> ECA, Misc/EMF/3. Report Of The Committee Of Taste on the Redecoration of the East End of the Chapel.

<sup>16</sup> Gildea, J., (1911) *For Remembrance And In Honour Of Those Who Lost Their Lives In The South African War 1899-1902*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode Ltd, p.14.

<sup>17</sup> ECA, Misc/EMF/3. Report Of The Committee Of Taste on the Redecoration of the East End of the Chapel.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

accepted with just the addition of 'a network of foliage, on which are suspended shields bearing the Arms of the College, the Universities, and various benefactors'.<sup>19</sup> The scale and cost of the Eton memorial scheme, coupled to the fact that the Executive Committee had access to leading figures in the world of taste and design, was such that a sub-group to advise on such matters could be justified. Elsewhere, similar investigations and recommendations as were conducted by the Committee of Taste were handled within the ranks of those who commissioned memorials. The lengths to which Eton's sub-committee went, however, signpost a generally-held desire to recognise, what was perceived as, a supreme sacrifice by their colleagues, by bringing the very best schemes possible into existence. As a final reference to the Committee of Taste, it is of interest to note that, in support of the argument made in Chapter Three, it was at all times strictly controlled by Edmund Warre's Executive Committee, as effectively demonstrated in the minutes of that latter body's meetings. For example, at a gathering held on Thursday 7<sup>th</sup> May 1903 the group debated 'how far the recommendations of the Committee of Taste should be carried out' whilst at a second, convened on Thursday 11<sup>th</sup> February 1904, a report from the sub-committee was 'considered and agreed' with provisos.<sup>20</sup> A third meeting, held on Tuesday 21<sup>st</sup> February 1905, debated a Committee of Taste recommendation and, whilst 'recognizing its great merits, and appreciating thoroughly the care bestowed upon it', regretted that it [the recommendation] was unable to be adopted.<sup>21</sup> Despite the stature of the sub-committee's membership, both in terms of their knowledge of art and design and their standing in the community, headmaster Warre, through his executive

<sup>19</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 14.

<sup>20</sup> ECA, Misc/EMF/1. Minute book 1900-1910.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*



conclave, remained very much in control. Having completed this case-study, the thesis will now move on to memorial types, starting with stained-glass.

### *Types of Memorial*

#### *Stained-glass*

Judith Neiswander and Caroline Smith remark that:

although commercially-made panels of decorative glass had long been a staple of Victorian interiors the artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement took a fresh look at stained glass as a significant art form.<sup>22</sup>

This fresh look coincided with the time at which school South African memorials were being designed and was one reason for their popularity. Stained-glass allows for the visual telling of stories and the linking of these to the individuals being memorialised. In public/private school commemoration of Boer War casualties three themes are evident – triumphalism, righteousness of cause, and promise of eternal life. Windows usually comprise a number of separate lights and are therefore ideally suited to episodic narrative. They also have the advantage of typically being installed in a school chapel where their messages are sure to be regularly seen by future generations of pupils, parents and masters. A.H. Peppin, a sometime Music Master at Clifton College, wrote that if public-school men were asked in later years which feature of school life stood most clearly in their recollection; which building would be most vivid in memory; and which experiences were 'nearest the core of their love and loyalty for their old school' the answer would be 'the school chapel and its services'.<sup>23</sup> Similarly,

<sup>22</sup> Neiswander, J., and Swash, C., (2005) *Stained Art & Glass: A Unique History Of Glass Design & Making*, London: The Intelligent Layman Publishers Ltd. p.3.

<sup>23</sup> Peppin, A.H., (1927) 'Public Schools And Their Music' in Morris, A., (ed.), (2014) *Music In Independent Schools*, Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer Ltd. p.165.



school officials regarded the as a school's focal point. In charting the building history at St John's, that institution's school magazine commented:

No sooner was the school firmly established in Letherhead (sic) than the Governors determined to build a Chapel, to be at once the sign and symbol of the purpose they ever held in view, and the centre and source of the School's life.<sup>24</sup>

For those who wished their memorials to be noticed, to influence and to persuade, therefore, there was no better place than the school chapel and no better means of conveying their significance than by the visual means offered by stained-glass.

In the case of Bedford Grammar there are six lights in the memorial window above which are two quatrefoils containing the arms of Edward VI, in whose reign the school was founded, together with those of Sir William Harpur who, along with his wife Alice, provided the mayor and corporation of Bedford with an educational endowment, thus enabling the facility to be established.<sup>25</sup> The 'general idea of the Window is that of recalling the military heroes of national history and tradition' and it does so by depicting Saints Alban and George, alongside King Alfred and the Black Prince; the central, and main, depiction, however, is of 'St. Michael quelling the Dragon'.<sup>26</sup> In the places of learning covered by this study, windows of two or three lights are more usual and the idea of a traditional hero slaying a dragon regularly appears. At Tonbridge School the central panel of three lights shows St. George clothed in full armour and standing on a beast which he has recently despatched by the heroic use of his spear. Above the Saint's head the Royal Standard floats against

<sup>24</sup> *Johnian*, vol. XXXVIII, no.1, January 1923. p.1. 'Leatherhead' was quite commonly spelt 'Letherhead' in Victorian times and the chapel article, although published in 1923, seems to have wanted to keep with tradition.

<sup>25</sup> F. E. Balls (1977) 'The Endowment Of Education In The Nineteenth Century: The Case Of The Bedford Harpur Trust', *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society*, 6:2, pp. 103-113.

<sup>26</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 3.

a background on which the red roses of England blossom and thrive, whilst four scenes from George's life are depicted in lights to the left and right. In the first appears a maiden leaving the Libyan city of Silene to be sacrificed to the dragon whilst in the second George is shown in mortal combat with the monster. The third scene represents the religious conversion of the whole city in consequence of the dragon's defeat by the champion of Christianity: the fourth scene shows the eventual fate of St. George once Silene had reverted to heathendom and the inhabitants had delivered him up to his persecutors. God's displeasure at this latter turn of events is evidenced in that last scene by a bolt of lightning destroying one of the city's buildings.

The figure of St. George, holding in his left hand a shield and in his right a spear, also appears in a single-light window at Maidstone Grammar School and in the background is the inscription *Leones Conculcabis Et Dracones*, a condensed version of Psalm 91, verse thirteen – 'the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet'.<sup>27</sup> At Blundell's School, Tiverton, St. George is shown alongside Joshua, 'the leader of the conquering armies of Israel',<sup>28</sup> and, in the tracery above, Angels hold a scroll with the words 'quit you like men', taken from Corinthians I – 'Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong'.<sup>29</sup> In the centre panel of three lights at Eastbourne College it is again St. Michael who is shown killing a fire-breathing dragon whilst at Felsted, David, who was to become the second king of the United Kingdom of Israel, is depicted slaying a bear. This latter scene originates in the biblical story, told in Samuel I, of David pleading with King Saul to allow him fight Goliath on the grounds that he, David, had already killed fierce predators which had taken a lamb from his

<sup>27</sup> *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments*. [Authorised King James Version] (undated) London: Collins Bible. Psalm 91, verse 13, p.534.

<sup>28</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 41.

<sup>29</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Corinthians I, chapter 16, verse 13, 173.

father's flock – 'Thy servant slew both the lion and the bear: and this uncircumcised Philistine shall be as one of them, seeing he hath defied the armies of the living God'.<sup>30</sup>

Saint Ninian's School, Moffat, erected a window in its chapel showing Saints George and Michael in separate panes, the first depicting victory over the 'earthly dragon' and the second victory over the 'spiritual dragon'.<sup>31</sup>

As a brief, but interesting, aside Ninian's was closed in 1979 and sold in November 1987 at which time the window was removed and placed in a storeroom at The Episcopal Church of St. John the Evangelist, just a couple of hundred yards away. During the 1990s the end wall of the church was completely rebuilt to accommodate and preserve the school's window and it remains in that position to this day. In fact, the only stained-glass window found by this study not to have survived, in either its original or a replacement position, is that which was erected in 'Big School', Sutton Valence, Maidstone.<sup>32</sup> It was removed during the Second World War and was not replaced.

In the foregoing examples, then, the enemy, in this case the Boer, is seen as the 'earthly' or 'spiritual dragon', the predator 'bear' or 'lion', even the 'uncircumcised Philistine', whilst casualties of the school are remembered alongside traditional heroes and the idea of victory is conspicuously celebrated. Patriotism together with a reminiscence of place and past is also celebrated and the schoolboys of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were highly receptive to these themes. The Boers were, of course,

<sup>30</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Samuel I, chapter 17, verse 36, 276.

<sup>31</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 286.

<sup>32</sup> Pickard, David (PickardD@svs.org.uk), 2012. Boer War and Sutton Valence School. 16 July. Email to: Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

a rural and agricultural community, the descendants of white, Christian, European settlers in Southern Africa, but viewed, particularly by schoolboys whose predecessors had gone to fight them in defence of empire, as somewhat inferior beings. Even in the days leading up to the war, a perception of the Boer as an uncivilized, ill-bred, ungentlemanly, barbarous individual was being promulgated. *The Times* headed a column 'Boer Brutality', below which its own correspondent, as well as those of Reuter's Agency, listed stories of 'outrage, insult and spoilation by the Boers who', it was alleged, 'are behaving like semi-savages'.<sup>33</sup> Tales of a baby being snatched from its mother's arms, in order to provoke the father; of a lady being struck in the mouth with the butt-end of a rifle; of men being thrashed unmercifully with leathern sjamboks; and of a man being dragged from a railway-carriage and thrown into a cattle truck, followed. Elsewhere, *Dundee Courier* printed a piece which described British soldiers in smart uniforms with 'close-cut hair, and moustaches only on the face', and compared them to Boers dressed in 'tweed or corduroy' with 'hats of all shapes' and shaggy hair and beards, giving them 'a thoroughly unkempt appearance'.<sup>34</sup> The article also pointed out that British commanders were trained, scientific, proficient soldiers, who had devoted their lives to the leading of troops, whilst the Boers possessed no professional military men and were, for the most part, farmers. Such impressions of the Boer also found their way into children's literature, in particular the works of George Alfred Henty whose popular adventure stories were widely read by Victorian and Edwardian schoolboys. Henty's continuous portrayal of the Boers as 'dirty, corrupt, shift and immoral', was, according to Jeffrey Richards, 'entirely in line with imperial propaganda' and in all three of his, Henty's, South African novels Boers

<sup>33</sup> "The Transvaal Crisis." *Times* [London, England] 7 Oct. 1899: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 27 Oct. 2015.

<sup>34</sup> *Dundee Courier* – Wednesday 18 October 1899.

appear as villains.<sup>35</sup> Other traits attributed to the Boer by Henty include 'tightfistedness', 'tyranny over family', 'cruelty to slaves' and the treacherous shooting of British troops after hoisting a flag of truce.<sup>36</sup> Against such a background private/public schoolboys probably metaphorically saw the Afrikaner farmer as a dragon, an animal predator or an Hegelian other.

But victory over an opponent representing otherness is not the only theme in Boer War memorial glass. Tonbridge School included the three golden leopards, or lions, which appear in the Royal Arms plus the National Standard of a Red Cross on a white background, in addition to the, previously mentioned, Royal Standard and red roses of England depicted above the head of St. George. The window at Bedford carries reminders of the school's origins as does that at Eastbourne where the Arms of the Diocese are included in the design. At Portsmouth, the Arms of the Borough appear, alongside those of Christ Church, Oxford, the Founder's College. Themes of righteousness and divine promise are also present in these examples, but they are better demonstrated separately as follows:

'Fight the good fight of faith' appears on scrolls depicted in window lights at both Rugby School and Marlborough College although Marlborough also has the other half of the quotation – 'lay hold on eternal life'.<sup>37</sup> In a further reference to the promise of resurrection Marlborough also includes 'he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it'.<sup>38</sup> The two-light window at the London Orphan Asylum recalls Joab's battle against

<sup>35</sup> Richards, J., (1989) 'With Henty to Africa' in Richards, J., (ed.) (1989) *Imperialism And Juvenile Literature*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. p.100.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p.96.

<sup>37</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Timothy I, chapter 6, verse 12, 203.

<sup>38</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Matthew, chapter 10, verse 39, 14.

the Syrians and his brother's simultaneous engagement with the peoples of Ammon. At the top of the window are the words *Pro Patria* and at the foot appears part of a verse in Samuel II. The full section reads as follows and is quoted here in its entirety to demonstrate the meaning that both conflicts were viewed as being righteous. The words in square brackets are omitted in the Asylum's window but the significance would still have been clear to its early twentieth-century audience. '[Be of good courage, and] let us play the men for our people, [and for the cities of our God:] and the LORD do that which seemeth him good'.<sup>39</sup>

Two lights at Dover College each contain a depiction of Jesus. Below the left-hand figure is shown a group comprising 'the orphan, the prisoner, the aged and the warrior', all in attitudes of supplication, whilst under the figure in the right-hand light the same group is gathered in prayer and the inscription reads – 'He ever liveth to make intercession for us'.<sup>40</sup> The story told at Epsom College, through six lights and the traceries above, is also one of eternal life. Three Holy Women are shown at the Sepulchre after the Resurrection and the inscription below declares – 'he is not here, He is risen as He said'.<sup>41</sup> Sedbergh School chose to deliver a clear message by means of its window which shows the crucifixion of Jesus and of the two thieves above groups of women and soldiers. A text at the foot of the central pane reads – 'God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life'.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Samuel II, chapter 10, verse 12, 299.

<sup>40</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 92.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 248

The three-light window at Bradfield College, Reading, delivers a different and thoughtful message. It features David in each light, first as a boy, then as King and finally clad in armour with shield and sword in his left and right hands respectively. Below each depiction is a text, the first relating to the lion and bear story, already discussed under Felsted School,<sup>43</sup> and the second to David being anointed as King. The third text, below the armour-clad David, reads ‘Nevertheless, he would not drink thereof’ and it relates to a story told in Samuel II, chapter 23.<sup>44</sup> The incident in question occurred during David's conflict with the Philistines when he expressed a wish to drink water from a spring, or well, located behind enemy lines. Three of David's men left the stronghold in which they were encamped, fought their way to the well, drew water, and carried it back, through various hazards, to their leader, sustaining many wounds and bruises in the process. David, however, on seeing their condition, would not drink the liquid, considering the human cost of obtaining it to be too great, and instead poured it out as an offering to God. Bradfield, in designing its memorial, obviously wished to draw particular attention to the great sacrifice made by eight of its former pupils who had perished but had been instrumental in securing a victory. Like the London Orphan Asylum, Bradfield also justified the involvement of their alumni by placing the words *Pro Patria* above the central light as well as at the head of an alabaster and marble tablet, placed below the window and bearing the eight names, their regiment, age, and cause, plus date, of death.

Two of the schools in this study, Shrewsbury and Langton's, elected to depict their own heroes in stained-glass. Above a three-light window at Shrewsbury a scroll

<sup>43</sup> Pages 199/200.

<sup>44</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 11.

proclaims Imago Fortitudinis, which translates as An Image of Strength. In fact, the glass contains six images demonstrating fortitude and strength, five of them being biblical examples and the sixth depicting Captain Hatherley George Moor, a British officer of the Royal Artillery who held, as a panel in the window testifies, 'a fortified hill near Colesberg South Africa ... against a greatly superior force of Boers, with bravery unsurpassed'.<sup>45</sup>

Harold Arthur Gilham, who, until very recently, the authorities at Simon Langton School for Boys, Canterbury, thought was one of only two ex-pupils to die in the Boer War, is the sole subject of commemoration in a two-light window at St Paul's Church in the city. At the time of the work's unveiling, *Langtonian*, the school's magazine, printed an article headed Explanation Of The Window, in which it revealed that the lights had been designed to illustrate the text – 'Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life'.<sup>46</sup> The magazine went on to declare that the extract had a three-fold meaning – 'the Individual, the National, and the Religious' and that each meaning could be divided into three phases – 'Preparation, Self-sacrifice or Struggle, and Victory'.<sup>47</sup> The publication continued by asserting:

[the window] may be said to illustrate a great historical event, - the spontaneous rising at the call of Duty of the young men, not only of Britain but of all her colonies, in defence of the greatest, the noblest, the most free and just Empire that the world has ever seen.<sup>48</sup>

Against this background, those who produced *Langtonian* believed that the war in South Africa had been for the deliverance of the oppressed and for the maintenance of justice and equality between man and man. The publication observed that the battle had been fought and won with help from above and noted that the window showed

<sup>45</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 184.

<sup>46</sup> *Langtonian*, vol. 1, new series, April 1900-April 1902, p.284.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid,

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p.286.



rays of light and love descending on the representations of Gilham as the student and the warrior alike. *Langtonian* had found triumphalism, righteousness of cause, and the promise of eternal life, all represented in the same work. It had also found an opportunity to nakedly trumpet imperialism, and in doing so it was far from alone. In this context, and to demonstrate how young men were encouraged to view the cause of empire, it is worth again quoting Henty, a writer already singled out as influencing juvenile perception of the Boers. In the preface to his book *St George for England* Henty wrote: 'My Dear Lads, the courage of our forefathers has created the greatest empire in the world [which, if,] ever lost, ... will be by the cowardice of their descendants'.<sup>49</sup> Henty's stories promote masculinity, courage, and heroism, all traits strongly stimulated in Victorian schools and encouraged by Victorian patriarchs who felt, as John Tosh has noted, that 'manliness was best instilled by proxy, under the care of a surrogate father who could set to work without the distractions of home comfort and feminine charm'.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, the process of introducing manliness had begun at home and, at that stage, as Tosh has again pointed out, mothers were also involved, particularly those married to 'remote aristocratic' or 'over-worked middle-class' husbands.<sup>51</sup> Examples of manliness have been found in the stained-glass suggestions and representations of water-sourcing men, royal warriors, and the heroic alumni of Shrewsbury and Langton schools. Once South African hostilities were at an end, Sir Evelyn Wood, himself a military hero, would remark that war 'was always grievous – often terrible', but that even worse was the 'decline of enthusiasm, of manliness, and

<sup>49</sup> Henty, G.A., (1916) *St. George for England: a tale of Cressy and Poitiers*, London: Blackie and Son. Also quoted in Richards, J., (1989) *Imperialism And Juvenile Literature*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. p.73.

<sup>50</sup> Tosh, J., (1999) *A Man's Place: Masculinity And The Middle-Class Home In Victorian England*, London: Yale University Press. p.119.

<sup>51</sup> Tosh, J., (1994) 'What Should Historians Do With Masculinity? - Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain', in *History Workshop*, no. 38, pp.179-202. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.196.

of the spirit of self-sacrifice'.<sup>52</sup> Small wonder that young men were keen to go to war and later celebrate victory with depictions of mythical, military and contemporary heroes; victory celebrated not only in stained-glass but in other artistic forms, as the next section will demonstrate.

### *Statues & tablets*

In common with the Simon Langton window at St. Paul's, the memorialisation of Elizabeth College, Guernsey, alumni is also off-site. A public meeting held at the end of 1902 considered how the war casualties of Guernsey and Alderney might be remembered and a setting for a possible memorial at the College was contemplated. However, William Newbury, who was 'responsible for the design and for organising a series of concerts to raise money', suggested the 'final location on the south side of St Julian's Avenue', and a statue, depicting a 'soldier standing over a wounded comrade' was erected at that place.<sup>53</sup> Forty-five names are listed around the granite base but those of officers, eleven in total, appear together on the west-facing side and all bar one were educated at Elizabeth.

Clifton College is the only other institution, in this investigation of Boer War memorials, to have erected an open-air statue and it opted for a bronze representation of St. George, standing atop a four-sided architectural pedestal of Portland stone, 'gazing out towards South Africa across the school grounds'.<sup>54</sup> The sculptor, Alfred

<sup>52</sup> "Naval & Military Intelligence." *Times* [London, England] 4 July 1904: 11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 5 Nov. 2015.

<sup>53</sup> *St Peter Port Boer War Memorial* [Online] Available: <http://www.roll-of-honour.com/Guernsey/StPeterPortBoer.html>. Copyright permission received: Roll of Honour (NTL) (rollofhonour@ntlworld.com), 2015. Re: Copyright permission. 8 August. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie). [accessed 4 September 2015].

<sup>54</sup> Riches, S., (2005) *St George: Hero Martyr And Myth*, first published 2000, Stroud: Sutton Publishing. p.194.

Drury, had, at the request of Clifton's memorial committee, submitted two sketch models – one of St. George, shown in the collage which forms the opening page to this chapter, and the other of a modern soldier dressed in Khaki. Clifton's preference was for St. George and, whilst no record has been found to indicate why this was the case, a clue might exist in a remark made by Cheryl Trafford, who edited a work which charts the first 150 years of Clifton's history. Trafford notes that the chivalric figure of George is clad in medieval armour, 'a far cry from the khaki uniforms actually worn on the veldt', and comments 'but this was still an age when war was considered a colourful adventure for dashing volunteers'.<sup>55</sup> It may well be that those who chose the Saint as the subject of their memorial wished future generations of boys to view any coming call to arms in this way and, therefore, have no hesitation in stepping forward. Once the final choice had been made, however, Drury supplied the College with a detailed description, pointing out the metaphorical features he had incorporated into the design. 'The handle of the sword', the sculptor explained, 'is surmounted with a figure emblematical of Love' whilst 'the hilt takes the form of an anchor representing the anchor of Hope'.<sup>56</sup> In carving the face, Drury said, he had endeavoured to express a character of 'Fortitude and Virtue without effeminacy'.<sup>57</sup> A further example of this particular craftsman's work can be found at Harrow School where his bronze statue of St. George stands in an archway created by a memorial scheme which resulted in the enlargement of the school's chapel. This St. George is remarkably similar to the example at Clifton College and it is interesting to record that in neither case is a dragon depicted, notwithstanding the fact that George is clothed, both at Clifton and Harrow, in full fourteenth-century armour, and carries both a sword and shield. The legend of

<sup>55</sup> Trafford, C., (ed.) (2009) *The Best School Of All: 150 Years Of Clifton College*, London: Third Millennium Publishing Limited, a subsidiary of Third Millennium Information Limited. p.28.

<sup>56</sup> CCB *The Cliftonian*. Volume XVIII, June 1904, p.194.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

St. George was so well, and widely, known that, in these cases, the sculptor would, quite probably, have thought that inclusion of the vanquished dragon would unnecessarily complicate his design to no great advantage.

At the chapel of Radley College, Abingdon, however, the depiction of St. George is very much accompanied by the dragon. The memorial 'is of alabaster, and in the form of a sarcophagus, supported' on the wall of the chapel, 'by carved brackets'.<sup>58</sup> Above this work a small statue shows St. George towering over the slain beast, his left foot on its neck, and his sword held vertically aloft as if it had just been extracted from the monster's lifeless body. As if to emphasise the dragon's fate, and the scale of George's triumph, the head of the beast hangs down onto the sarcophagus so that it forms the lowest part of the sculpture whereas the hilt of St. George's sword forms the very top. The architect for this work was Sir Thomas Graham Jackson and his original design was for the sarcophagus to be surmounted by an allegorical figure of *Faith*. Radley's memorial committee accepted the overall proposal on condition that St. George was substituted for *Faith*, and, on that understanding, it was then left for Jackson to select a sculptor and have the work completed.<sup>59</sup> Radley, in making a conscious choice between two, very different, themes, consequently provides an ideal example of a school wishing to celebrate victory rather than to convey feelings of belief, hopefulness and expectation.

An oak panel, depicting an armoured St. Michael, stood upon a dragon, was the memorial choice at Loretto School. The beast has its tail wrapped around the

<sup>58</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 9.

<sup>59</sup> RCA *Radelian Magazine*. May 1903.

archangel's leg, but a long spear thrust into its mouth signifies that Michael has either won the contest or is close to doing so. Being armoured, the figure could easily be mistaken for St. George but on careful inspection a pair of wings becomes apparent, enabling the victor to be correctly identified. Michael occupies the centre of the panel. He is flanked by an inscription to the left and the names of the dead to the right, whilst in the centre of three lower panels appears a pelican. George Ferguson, in discussing symbolic forms of animals, birds, and insects, explains that the pelican, according to legend, has the greatest love of all creatures for its offspring, to the extent that it will pierce its breast and feed them with its own blood. 'It is on the basis of this legend', Ferguson asserts, 'that the pelican came to symbolize Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, because of His love for all mankind'.<sup>60</sup> In the context of a memorial in a school chapel it is easy to see how this might also be interpreted as a sacrifice made by former pupils for those attending the school in the present and future.

Robert A. Koch declared, in 1955, that, from very early times, 'Christian art has employed the language of symbolism' and that, right down to the time he was writing, the symbol enabled the 'Christian artist to glorify the Word by making it visual'.<sup>61</sup> There is no doubt that the boys enrolled at British and Irish public/private schools in the last quarter of the nineteenth century would have been well aware of the messages contained in the imagery employed in memorial design. Several headmasters were ordained in holy orders, for example Warre of Eton, Selwyn of Uppingham, Barnard of Stamford and Westcott of Sherborne, and they, amongst many others, would have ensured a more than adequate education in spiritual affairs. As an example, a flavour

<sup>60</sup> Ferguson, G., (1954) *Signs & Symbols In Christian Art*, New York: Oxford University Press. p.23.

<sup>61</sup> Koch, (1955) 'Book Review' in *Theology Today*, Princeton, New Jersey: Sage on behalf of the Princeton Theological Seminary. p.269.

of the detail given to boys in relation to St. George can be found in an address given by the Reverend Charles George Duffield, headmaster of Maidstone Grammar, on Wednesday 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1902, part of which follows:

St. George had been chosen by Christian nations as the symbol of Christian fortitude; since the eighth century he had been looked upon as the Patron Saint of soldiers, and since the 13<sup>th</sup> century he had been honoured as the Patron Saint of England. His name was used as a battle cry in the Crusades; and he was chosen by Edward III as the Patron of the highest Order of Knighthood in England. The cross he bore on his shield was the foundation of our national flag; it was carried on every battleship in the British Navy; and that day, April 23, had for nearly a thousand years been associated with his name.<sup>62</sup>

The 'Red Cross Shield of St. George', headmaster Duffield continued, was 'the escutcheon of British honour, bright and unstained'; it may have been 'battered and bruised ... on many a stricken field', when it was raised to defend 'the cause of justice and equity between man and man', but once laid down in peace it had remained 'unstained and untarnished'.<sup>63</sup>

Even outside of the school system, Victorian England was a deeply religious country. 'Strict observance of Sunday as the Lord's day was practiced for most of the ... period' and 'the entire family went to church both morning and afternoon'.<sup>64</sup> The Bible was routinely read across the classes as were religious stories and tales. It should also be borne in mind, when considering the religious awareness of pupils, that in the parental occupations of 629 analysed in Chapter 2, 11% were found to be members of the clergy.<sup>65</sup> Against this background boys would readily appreciate the difference between the 'earthly' and 'spiritual' dragons found at St Ninian's, and elsewhere, and their respective slayers – SS. George and Michael. The background to the legend of

<sup>62</sup> MGS *Maidstonian*. Volume. 13, no 2, July 1902, pp. 30-31.

<sup>63</sup> MGS *Maidstonian*. Volume. 13, no 2, July 1902, p. 31.

<sup>64</sup> Mitchell, S. (1996) *Daily Life In Victorian England*, London, Greenwood Press, p.250.

<sup>65</sup> Chapter Two, *Men Memorialised*, page 108.

St. George, and his engagement with an actual dragon, has already been explained in the comments relating to Tonbridge School but St. Michael's dragon was 'selected by the painters of the Renaissance to symbolize the Devil' and it has been thus used ever since. Its origin comes from its vivid portrayal, as the enemy of God, in the Book of Revelation.<sup>66</sup>

And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels,  
And prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven.  
And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.<sup>67</sup>

All of the indoor memorials so far discussed, with the exception of Langdon's, are to be found within the schools concerned; all of the stained-glass examples being found in on-site chapels. Langdon's had no chapel, so its memorial tablet, in brass, was placed in the reception area of the school and the commemorative window was put together at nearby St Paul's.

Tablets, plaques and memorial boards are, by far, the most common of the memorials found in the schools under discussion but they were constructed in a wide variety of materials and range from the very simple to the highly ornate. As an example, James Gildea explains that the style and design of the mural tablet at Beaumont College, Old Windsor, is a free rendering of that which prevailed during the Renaissance period of architecture. The material is of pure white alabaster and the panel upon which the names are inscribed has small Corinthian columns on either side. Continuing the description, Gildea writes that a 'richly carved cartouche', containing the College crest and motto, surmounts the whole tablet; Irish marble fills 'the pediment and the bases

<sup>66</sup> Ferguson, G., (1954) *Signs & Symbols In Christian Art*, New York: Oxford University Press. p.16.

<sup>67</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Samuel II, chapter 10, verse 12, 299. Revelation, chapter 12, verses 7-9, 240.

of the columns'; the work is 'in all cases touched up with gold', and the 'ground of the carving is painted a soft blue'.<sup>68</sup> Beaumont had changed from being a priests' training college to a Catholic boarding school for boys in 1861, the property having been sold to the Society of Jesus some years before, and at that time it became, in company with Stonyhurst College, Clitheroe, and St Aloysius' College, Glasgow, a public school maintained by the English Province of the Jesuits. The school at Beaumont closed in 1967 and most of the pupils were transferred to Stonyhurst, leaving the premises available to become an hotel and conference centre. The ornate plaque described on the previous page has survived and is now displayed in one of the hotel lounges,<sup>69</sup> a space formerly known as 'the Lower Line refectory' (a dining room for the school's thirteen/fifteen-year olds).<sup>70</sup>

Stonyhurst has its own mural tablet, in bronze rather than alabaster, erected at 'the head of the great staircase' and depicting, 'in the upper part', Christ rising from the tomb and in the lower part the names of the dead 'in alto relievo'.<sup>71</sup> Both the Beaumont and Stonyhurst tablets show the names of those being commemorated, but that at Stonyhurst became much more difficult to read because the letters were 'initially covered in the same bronze coating as the rest of the memorial'.<sup>72</sup> An attempt has been made to remedy this situation but the material used at Beaumont appears to have been the more successful. Both Stonyhurst and Beaumont had, of course, perfectly good

<sup>68</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 11.

<sup>69</sup> *History of Beaumont Estate*, an information sheet produced by 'Beaumont Estate – Hotel & Conference Center' (sic).

<sup>70</sup> Pugh, Emma-Marie (Emma-Marie.Pugh@principal-hayley.com), 2012. *Re Boer War 1899-1902*. 27 July. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>71</sup> *Lancashire Evening Post* – Thursday 28 July 1904. Phrase meaning protruding from the background.

<sup>72</sup> Knight, Mr David (D.Knight@stoneyhurst.ac.uk), 2012. Stonyhurst and the Boer War. 18 August. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).



chapels in which to place their memorials but chose instead, in the Stonyhurst case, the top of a staircase, and in the Beaumont case, the refectory. The precise reason for the Stonyhurst decision is not recorded, but oak panelling had recently been installed in the chapel, against which the memorial may not have sufficiently stood out, and, in any event, the walls were somewhat crowded with stations on one side and confessionals on the other.<sup>73</sup> The poignant reason at Beaumont, however, was explained by the college memorial fund secretary, at the unveiling ceremony. Four Beaumont boys had accidentally met, as serving officers, on the plains of South Africa and their thoughts naturally turned to their old school, to friends who had died, and to the possibilities of future memorialisation. Their wish was that a 'memento' be erected in some part of the college 'around which the young generation could meet and talk, and which would be an incentive to them to emulate the devotion to duty and bravery of their fallen comrades',<sup>74</sup> The four officers would doubtless have considered the Lower Line Refectory to be the ideal spot.

The Beaumont and Stonyhurst memorials are each religious in nature – the Resurrection at Stonyhurst and at Beaumont the inclusion of A.M.D.G (the contracted form of the Jesuit motto), the horseshoe crest of St. Stanislaus, and the letters IHS, representing the abbreviation of the Greek ΙΗΣΟΥΣ, meaning Jesus. At both locations, however, it was felt better to utilise a secular, rather than a religious space. Appropriate placing seems, generally, to have been the main concern, and whilst the majority of tablets and plaques are to be found in school chapels, those that are not are usually in positions likely chosen as places where generations of boys would regularly

<sup>73</sup> Knight, Mr David (D.Knight@stoneyhurst.ac.uk), 2015. Boer War 1899-1902. 2 November. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>74</sup> "Naval & Military Intelligence." *Times* [London, England] 4 July 1904: 11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 4 Nov. 2015.

pass by on their way about the school. Secular memorials are therefore to be found in religious space as well as the other way about. Aldenham School, Elstree, placed its wooden plaque in the dining hall, whilst Highgate School, London, and King's Rochester took the, probably wise, decisions to place their plaques in the chapel porch and the Lady Chapel entrance, respectively, where, because pupils had to pass that way on entry and exit, they might be more noticeable. Kingswood School, Bath, placed its tablet in the 'Senior Schoolroom',<sup>75</sup> and Victoria College, St. Helier, Jersey, affixed its brass above 'the main staircase ... leading up to the Great Hall'.<sup>76</sup> The memorials of four of these five schools are secular but King's Rochester chose to head its tablet with a crucifix and the letters A.M.D.G – the same letters as used at Beaumont and representing an abbreviation of 'Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam' – the motto of The Society Of Jesus, a congregation of the Catholic Church.<sup>77</sup> Finding this reference at Beaumont, a Catholic school founded by Jesuits, is not surprising, but King's was, is, a Cathedral, Church of England, School, so this is a possible example of early ecumenism at work in the decision to design the memorial in this particular way.

The plaque at Perse School, Cambridge, measures only eighteen inches by twelve and is located in the 'upper library', where the school admits it is 'easily overlooked and forgotten'.<sup>78</sup> That situation, however, is very much the exception rather than the rule. Much more common are the circumstances at The Oratory School, Woodcote, near Reading, where a large Medals Board is on such prominent display in its front hall that it cannot be missed by anyone entering, or leaving, the school buildings. The

<sup>75</sup> Parsons, Zoë (ZIP@kingswood.bath.sch.uk), 2012. Re: Boer War 1899-1902. 16 October. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>76</sup> Bithell, Martin (m.bithell@vcj.sch.je), 2012. Boer War Memorial. 28 August. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>77</sup> *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam* – For The Greater Glory Of God.

<sup>78</sup> *Perse Portraits, Plaques and Memorials*, a leaflet compiled by David Jones, School Archivist.

board commemorates all those ex-pupils who were engaged in conflicts going back to the Zulu War of 1879 and the names are displayed under the heading of the campaign medals they were awarded. Example medals head the individual columns and below are etched, in black, the names of all those who fought and survived and, in red, all those who fought but perished. Two awards were made for service in the second South African War – the King's Medal, for those who took part during 1902, and who had completed eighteen months service by the time the war ended on 31<sup>st</sup> May of that year; and the Queen's Medal, which was awarded to all who served in the war. It was, therefore, perfectly possible for a participant to be presented with both medals and in the case of The Oratory School the twenty-five names which appear in the King's Medal column also appear in the Queen's, although they are, of course, all written in black. It has been suggested elsewhere in this thesis that a memorial may have been designed as much to enhance the reputation of the school as to commemorate the dead,<sup>79</sup> and the impression created by the double-count of names at Oratory *may* be a further example of the same thing. Memorials which upgraded school facilities, together with those which were aesthetically pleasing, certainly amplified the standing of the schools at which they were installed, and that category is the subject of the next section.

### ***Memorials utilitarian & ornamental***

Some schools opted to improve existing facilities, in the name of memorialisation, and in several cases the improvements were to the structure, or contents, of the school chapel. Harrow, for instance enlarged its place of worship by the addition of two transepts and two porches and, as a result of creating arcaded recesses in each transept,

<sup>79</sup> Chapter Two, *Men Memorialised*, page 125.

provided an opportunity to house bronze tablets containing the names of those who fell in the war. A plaque located behind the headmaster's seat in the chapel at Kelly College, Tavistock, records the fact that a nearby improvement to the furnishings, in the form of a silver lectern, on a wood base, was placed in memory of fallen Kelleians. St George's, Harpenden, also installed a lectern whilst Derby School positioned an organ in its chapel and Repton built an impressive 'Organ Loft Screen and Masters' Stalls', which featured trumpeting Angels at the entrance and an Antechapel at the rear.<sup>80</sup>

Framlingham College installed a pulpit of 'Caen stone' with 'marble pillars', above which was placed a 'brass tablet' with an inscription which, partly, read: 'To the glory of God and in memory of those old boys whose names are recorded below'.<sup>81</sup> All Hallows, Honiton, probably effected the best improvement of all by erecting 'a new dining-room' and transforming 'the old one into a chapel', 'nicely fitted up with oak seats', 'furnished with an organ of sweet tone' and possessing 'a lovely piece of stained glass work' at its east end.<sup>82</sup>

Many of the tablets and plaques placed in school places of worship are of elaborate design and are manufactured from attractive materials, for example, the carved oak at Loretto, Musselburgh; the ten mosaic panels at Sherborne; and the memorial of 'Venice alabaster, with a deep moulding ornamented with gold devices', at Elstree.<sup>83</sup> Being of such intricate design and manufacture each of these examples adds grace and style to its surroundings. Several of the inscriptions are in Latin. Indeed, Merchant

<sup>80</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 35.

<sup>81</sup> *Framlingham Weekly News* – Saturday 14 May 1904.

<sup>82</sup> *Devon and Exeter Gazette* – Saturday 4 July 1903.

<sup>83</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 80.

Taylors' School, London, chose to exclusively use Latin on its memorial tablet. The former pupils of Merchant Taylors' consequently appear as the Scholae Alumnis of Mercatorum Scissorum and their nine names are each set into the memorial in translation, for instance William as Gulielmus, and Charles as Carolus.<sup>84</sup> Latin was presumably the language of choice for many schools because it adds a certain gravitas to memorialisation and chimes well with a school's ambitions to have the language understood by its pupils. Indeed, at Winchester College, the Prefect of Hall welcomed Lord Roberts, on the occasion of the school's Boer memorial being unveiled, entirely in Latin which the local newspaper reported verbatim the following Saturday, together with an English translation.<sup>85</sup> A number of schemes, as well as being utilitarian, were very grand indeed and the memorial buildings at Eton, the cloister at Charterhouse, and the memorial gate at Winchester, venue for the Latin speech, have already been mentioned.

A regularly occurring phrase on memorials erected by alumni, current pupils, masters and friends is *Dulce Et Decorum Est Pro Patria Mori*.<sup>86</sup> It can be found on twenty-six of the plaques, brasses and monuments covered by this study and it translates as *It is sweet and fitting, or right, to die for your country*. The phrase is a neat construction, authored by the Roman poet Horace, which summaries, in just seven Latin words, the ethos of many of those who created these sites of remembrance. The expression also reflected the attitude, character, and mood of the schools and their feelings toward former pupils. It would not be until the last winter of WWI, that of 1917/18, when Wilfred Owen's famous poem stripped the romance, promise and optimism from the

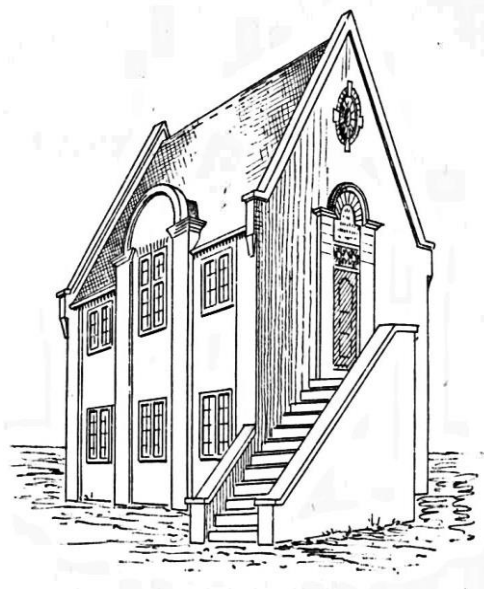
<sup>84</sup> AAD James Powell & Sons, (Whitefriars) Ltd. Window Glass Order Book. p.155.

<sup>85</sup> *Hampshire Chronicle* – Saturday 11 October 1902.

<sup>86</sup> From Horace, Book III, Ode ii, line 13. The phrase was well known in school circles before WWI.

phrase, that its accuracy began to be questioned.<sup>87</sup> Owen was, in part, responsible for the change in memorialisation culture which took place through the twentieth century and it can be detected, albeit not within the main subjects of this enquiry, in the years between the Boer and First World wars.

Oxford Preparatory, later named Dragon School, embarked on its ambitious project in April 1901, just a few weeks after the death, in action, of the former pupil it wished to commemorate. The proposition was to erect a new building in the school yard, comprising a carpenters' shop on the ground floor and a museum/library on the floor above.



Edmund Fisher, an architect and 'Old Dragon',<sup>88</sup> drew up plans, submitted the sketch reproduced here, and agreed to superintend the construction.<sup>89</sup> In August the school's magazine, *Draconian*, published a list of the subscriptions received up to Saturday 20<sup>th</sup> July 1901 and reported that the 'contract for the building (without fittings)' was

<sup>87</sup> The earliest surviving draft of Owen's poem, *Dulce Et Decorum Est*, according to the Wilfred Owen Association, is dated 8<sup>th</sup> October 1917, but it was not published until after the writer's death on the banks of the Sambre-Oise Canal on Monday 4<sup>th</sup> November 1918.

<sup>88</sup> The school's name for its alumni.

<sup>89</sup> Sourced at Oxford Preparatory School 24 January 2014 and reproduced with permission.

'£215 10s. '; the list actually totalled £199 2s., so it is hardly surprising that the magazine was able to conclude 'building is to be begun at once'.<sup>90</sup> Electric lighting, gilding the inscription over the door, and sundries, would add a further £62 10s. to the cost, but the whole project was complete by the time *Draconian* was again published at the end of the year.<sup>91</sup> Pictures of the carpenters' shop and museum/library, taken from 1930s postcards held in the school's archives, appear below and it is interesting to read that, by that time, the museum section of the premises contained such exotic items as 'a splendidly worked metal Dragon' and 'natives' spears', brought home by former pupils from 'Japan' and the 'Chin Mountains [of] Upper Burmah' respectively.<sup>92</sup>



**Carpenters' Shop**



**Museum/Library**

Uppingham School, in Rutland, also opted for a multi-functional building in the form of a Gymnasium, Concert Hall and Armoury combined. The new premises measured one hundred feet by forty,<sup>93</sup> and the hall could hold '950 including 150 on a balcony, as well as a forty strong orchestra and choir of one hundred'.<sup>94</sup> The cost was over £7,000, and the planning was influenced by Music Master Paul David, son of

<sup>90</sup> DSA *The Draconian*. August 1901, p.529.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. December 1901, p.544.

<sup>92</sup> DSA *The Draconian*. August 1903, p.630.

<sup>93</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 179.

<sup>94</sup> Rudman, J.P., (JPR@uppingham.co.uk), 2012. Boer War 1899-1902. 11 July. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).



Ferdinand David – a former leader of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra.<sup>95</sup> In these circumstances it was only to be expected that many of the interior details, including the inscription *Res Severa Est Verum Gaudium*,<sup>96</sup> over the east apsidal, should have been copied from the Gewandhaus. An additional inscription over the entrance door, *Caesorum Comitum Memores* (mindful of our fallen comrades) reminds visitors of the true genesis of the building.

The ambitious plan at Dulwich College was the South African Memorial Library, opened on Founders' Day 1903 and built of red brick, Portland stone, green slates and copper domes. Its main room is fifty feet in length, twenty-five in breadth, and about the same height, with a barrel ceiling. There were 'bookcases below the windows, and, together with the adjacent room', 'provision for many thousand volumes'.<sup>97</sup> The jurist, and Chairman of the Governing Body, Lord Davey opened the building and presented the College with statues of Mars and Justice which, the present 'Keeper of the Archive' feels, 'are presumably a coded formula signifying British victory in South Africa by divine right'.<sup>98</sup> The memorial library at Glenalmond is of approximately the same size as Dulwich but it was designed to occupy a floor above two new classrooms and is approached by means of a circular tower staircase. Local sandstone and slate from the nearby Craiglea quarry was used in its construction.

<sup>95</sup> *Naxos, The World's Leading Classical Music Group* [Online]. Available: [http://www.naxos.com/person/Ferdinand\\_David/27148.htm](http://www.naxos.com/person/Ferdinand_David/27148.htm). [accessed 14 September 2015].

<sup>96</sup> True pleasure is a serious business.

<sup>97</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*. 141.

<sup>98</sup> Lucy, Calista M. (lucycm@dulwich.org.uk), 2012. Boer War 1899-1902. 14 June. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).



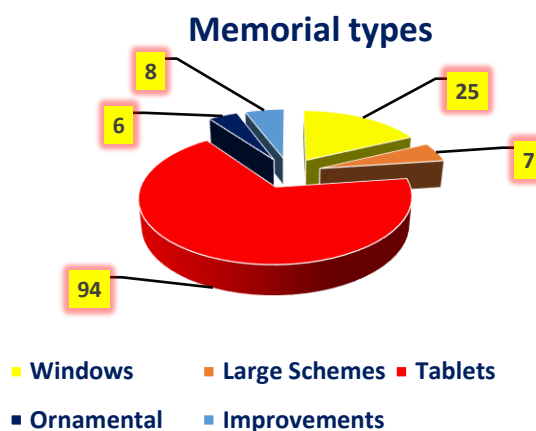
Two elaborate schemes stand out as serving no useful purpose other than to draw attention to the fact that men had died in South Africa. The first was designed for Haileybury College by Mr (later Sir) Reginald Theodore Blomfield, himself an old Haileyburian, and an associate member of the Royal Academy.<sup>99</sup> Blomfield's work stands at the entrance of an avenue leading to the College and it comprises a, twenty-nine-foot, Obelisk of Portland stone, on a lofty pedestal standing on a flight of six circular steps. 'Bronze swags hanging from the cannon balls at the base of the Haileybury Obelisk rest on the top of the pedestal' and 'four trusses support the angles, surmounted by cherubs' heads in helmets'.<sup>100</sup> Carved into the stone are the names of those sixteen Boer War battles, for which campaign, or operation, clasps were awarded, together with the school motto and crest, but the names of the past pupils who died do not appear. Instead, they are written on tablets placed in the cloisters. To be fair to the architect, Blomfield, it should be noted, in passing, that his belief was that 'underlying structure [had to be created] based on the lie of the land to bring architecture and nature together' in 'well-ordered harmony'; thus it is, perhaps, uneven to look at this memorial in isolation.<sup>101</sup> The second ornamental structure is at Cheltenham College and it is referred to as a Cross, although it is actually a, thirty-foot high, octagonal assembly, mounted on five steps of pea-grit, admittedly with a small copper cross at the very top. The middle stage of the column is composed of eight open arches, and above is an open lantern with buttresses and pinnacles. The work was designed by H.A. Prothero, an old Cheltonian, and, being a little more to the point than the Haileybury obelisk, it includes panels set into the column base which

<sup>99</sup> M. S. Briggs, 'Blomfield, Sir Reginald Theodore (1856–1942)', rev. Richard A. Fellows, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31929>, [accessed 5 Aug 2015].

<sup>100</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 81.

<sup>101</sup> Greensted, M., (2010) *The Arts And Crafts Movement in Britain*, Oxford: Shire Publications. p.58

are inscribed with the names of the dead. In total, this investigation has found 140 separate memorials all of which can be categorised by design as shown below:



Stained-glass windows speak for themselves, and the largest category, coloured red, comprises tablets of all materials, sizes and complexity. Classed as ornamental are the statues at Clifton, St Peter Port, and Radley, together with the elaborate fountain at St Paul's, West Kensington, the obelisk at Haileybury, and the cross at Cheltenham. The 'large schemes' have already been detailed and the 'improvements category' includes such items as the lectern at Kelly and the organ at Derby. Having established the kinds of memorial adopted by various schools this chapter will now turn its attention to the individuals, and companies, involved in their design and construction.

### *Memorial designers, architects and manufacturers*

Several schools involved past pupils in the design and construction of memorials, indicating that they kept themselves aware of the careers, and whereabouts, of their alumni and were at pains, where possible, to keep matters within the family. Cheltenham, Haileybury, and Oxford Preparatory have already been mentioned in this regard whilst Gilbert Scott, an old Beaumont boy, designed his school's plaque, Francis Oldaker designed and executed Epsom's window, Howard Travers, the tablet

at Tonbridge, J.K. Hunter the brass at Ayr, and Noel Sheffield the memorial at Chatham House. Eton College seemed able to keep everything within its family of past pupils and, when it came to design and construction, work on the new reredos was carried out under the direction of old Etonian T.B. Carter whilst the architect for the memorial buildings project was old boy Lawrence Kirkpatrick Hall.

Clifton College invited all those Old Cliftonians who had become architects 'to send in competitive designs' for a memorial to be erected on the school's terrace, and a large number of entries was in due course submitted.<sup>102</sup> Clifton then asked the Royal Institute of British Architects to nominate one of their members as an assessor/advisor and the name put forward was Ralph Selden Wornum. The chosen advisor had no previous connection with the College and whilst the eventual design chosen would certainly be the work of an Old Boy it was thus guaranteed to be selected by, what could be claimed as, an impartial consultant. Other matters at Clifton were, where possible, also kept within the ranks of the Old Boys and, where that was not possible, work was allocated to contractors operating within the south-west area of the country. The architects finally appointed for the memorial, and its surroundings, were Messrs Walter S. Paul and R.C. James, both of them Old Cliftonians, as well as being locally-based, with offices in Bristol city centre. J.W. Singer of Frome was the company appointed to cast the St. George statue; H.H. Martyn & Co of Cheltenham to work and carve the pedestal; Davey & Bushell, of College Green Bristol, to carve the pillars; and Mr Edwin Clarke, of the Fishponds district of the city, to form the steps, foundations and balustrades.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>102</sup> CCB *The Cliftonian*. Volume XVIII, June 1904, p.191.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

Many of the schools sourced neighbourhood suppliers to realise their memorial plans. The tablet for Christ's College Brecon was designed and executed by local man George Hey, whilst a local sculptor, R.G. Lomas, supplied the tablet at Derby School. Two institutions in Exeter (Exeter School itself and Heles), used the local firm of Harry Hems & Sons and Kendrick School, Reading, employed the town's stonemasons, A.F. Jones. A tablet at Portsmouth Grammar was supplied by engraver H. Osborne of nearby Ryde, Isle-of-Wight, whilst the Scottish schools of Glenalmond, Loretto, Cargilfield, and Edinburgh Academy all used Scotsmen, or Scottish firms, to supply their needs.

Blundell's School, Tiverton, sourced its stained-glass window only fifteen miles away at the works of Drake & Sons, Exeter. Inevitably though, most of the work was designed and executed by London-based individuals and companies although one firm, J. Wippell and Company Ltd., managed to be local and metropolitan at the same time.

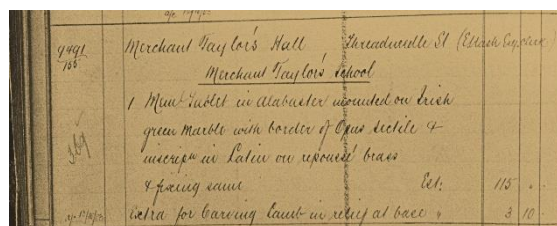
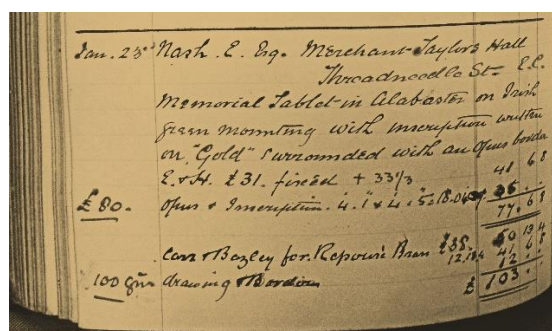
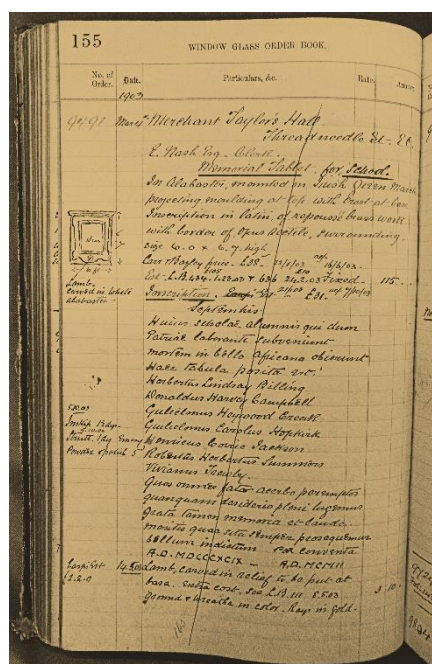


Wippell's were an old-established Exeter enterprise but in 1887 they opened a London showroom at Charing Cross. The business consequently became local enough to attract memorial trade, in the form of tablets, from Blundell's, Tiverton, and All Hallows, Honiton, but national enough to also supply similar items to Rugby School and Ardvreck, in Crieff, Perthshire.

London firms nevertheless dominated. A.P. Gamon & G.W. Humphrey supplied the windows at Bedford and Portsmouth Grammar; James Powell & Sons the windows at Bradfield College, and St John's, Leatherhead, plus a tablet at Glenalmond and mosaics with a tablet at Sherborne. Clayton & Bell did the window at Brighton; Gaffin & Co the tablet at Cranleigh; and Ward & Hughes the window at Dover. A.O. Hemming & Co executed the stained-glass at Felsted; Gawthorp & Sons the tablets at Chertsey, West Drayton and Harrow; Ramsden & Carr the tablet at Eastbourne; and Burlison & Grylls the windows at Windlesham, Marlborough, Radley and Maidstone. Framlingham's pulpit, and the plaques at Gordon Boys' and Newport Road were also designed and executed by London establishments. Furthermore, many of the designers and architects were based in the capital. Charles Eamer Kempe, for instance, who designed the windows at Malvern, Sedbergh and St. Ninian's, operated from a studio in Marylebone whilst the legendary Sir Aston Webb, whose work, in addition to the chapel extension at Harrow, included the Queen Victoria Memorial, Admiralty Arch and the redesigned Mall in between, also worked out of London.

During the nineteenth century, a large number of new churches were built in England in response to population growth and, particularly in the first half of the century, a revival of religious activity so, as can be seen from this large list of suppliers, there

was no shortage of companies to satisfy memorial needs and schemes. Neither was there any shortage of work for the companies involved as evidenced by the *Estimate*, *Window Glass Order*, and *Window Glass Cash* books of James Powell & Sons, a firm which occupied a site at Whitefriars, London, an area located between Fleet Street and the Thames.<sup>104</sup> Details of one school, Merchant Taylors', have been found in all three of Powells' books and the entries, reproduced below, provide a fascinating insight into how the school's memorial was ordered and the time it took to create.<sup>105</sup>



**Left Order Book; top right Estimates Book; bottom right Cash Book**

In the first entry, dated Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1903, Powells' note that the request, from E. Nash Esq., a clerk at the school's address in Threadneedle Street, was for a tablet in alabaster, on Irish green marble, with inscriptions in gold on repoussé brass, to be mounted in the Great Hall, and they estimated a total cost of £103. That approximate

<sup>104</sup> *The Victorian Web* [Online] Available:

<http://www.victorianweb.org/art/stainedglass/jamespowell/index.html>. [accessed 30 July 2015].

<sup>105</sup> James Powell & Sons (Whitefriars) Ltd, Estimate book, May 1901-April 1904. Archive reference AAD.1977.1.33. and Window Glass cash book, April 1902–December 1905. Archive reference AAD.1977.1.64.

price was promptly accepted by the school and Powells' then recorded, in some detail, the actual order on Wednesday 4<sup>th</sup> March 1903. It has previously been mentioned that Merchant Taylors' wanted the complete inscription in Latin and Powells' carefully noted the exact wording, reaffirmed the materials, recorded measurements, and drew a brief sketch of the requirements in the margin of their order book. A further entry was made in the book on Saturday of the following week to the effect that a Lamb should be carved in relief at the base of the memorial with the ground below its feet, and a wreath, to be completed in colour. A Lamb in Glory was, still is, the crest of Merchant Taylors' and its non-inclusion at the estimate stage must have been an oversight on the part of the school. The total cost now rose to £118 10s., which included an additional £3 10s. for the Lamb, a seemingly modest amount, especially bearing in mind that Rays in Gold were to be part of the design. That sum of money, however, was actually the equivalent of around £300 at today's values,<sup>106</sup> but still able to be considered small in an age where craft workers were not as plentiful as in the early twentieth century. Powells' entered the total amount to their cashbook, as being received, on Thursday 8<sup>th</sup> October 1903 and the new plaque was unveiled in the school's Great Hall on the following Monday, 12<sup>th</sup> October.<sup>107</sup> Less than eighteen months after the end of the war Merchant Taylors' had completed their memorial to the seven alumni who had died and those who assembled for the unveiling ceremony sang the hymn 'Now The Labourer's Task Is O'er',<sup>108</sup> which, with the benefit of hindsight, seems to have been an appropriate conclusion to the efforts of all involved.

<sup>106</sup> Moneysorter [Online] Available:  
[http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator\\_inflation2.html#calculator](http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator_inflation2.html#calculator). [accessed 30 July 2015].

<sup>107</sup> MTS *Taylorian*. October 1903, p.6.

<sup>108</sup> MTS *Taylorian*. October 1903, p.7.

Powells' books reveal that the final price was almost always the same as the estimate and in any instances, such as Merchant Taylors', where it varied slightly, an explanation for the difference was recorded. The books also show that the details most meticulously documented were inscriptions, where the wording, together with all punctuation marks, was very carefully written down. Diagrams of tablets and windows seem scant by comparison but must indicate that the firm was well used to providing the memorial type and needed to concentrate more on the precise wording required. Amounts charged to schools other than Merchant Taylors' also reinforce the point that craft work came at a comparatively modest cost. The elaborate window at Bradfield, depicting David as Shepherd, King, Psalmist and Armour Bearer was supplied for £135 (£11,476 today),<sup>109</sup> whilst the mosaics and tablet at Sherborne cost £197 2s. (£16,756 today),<sup>110</sup> and this amount included travelling expenses. At Rossall, a memorial tablet was supplied, fixed and photographed for £24 11s. 5d. (£2,089),<sup>111</sup> and at Nottingham High School 620 letters were added to the memorial tablet at a rate of three pence (£1.06) each whilst the individual cost for an additional twenty-five letters in gold rose to twelve pence,<sup>112</sup> (£4.25).<sup>113</sup>

Turning for a moment back to the designers, and architects, many of those mentioned in this thesis also became widely known for other work. Giles Gilbert Scott, who

<sup>109</sup> AAD.1977.1.64. job 9711. James Powell & Sons (Whitefriars) Ltd, Window Glass cash book, April 1902-December 1905.

<sup>110</sup> AAD.1977.1.64. job 9604. James Powell & Sons (Whitefriars) Ltd, Window Glass cash book, April 1902-December 1905.

<sup>111</sup> AAD.1977.1.64. job 9933. James Powell & Sons (Whitefriars) Ltd, Window Glass cash book, April 1902-December 1905.

<sup>112</sup> AAD.1977.1.64. James Powell & Sons (Whitefriars) Ltd, Window Glass cash book, April 1902-December 1905, p.276.

<sup>113</sup> Amounts in brackets represent today's values as calculated by *Moneysorter* [Online] Available: [http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator\\_inflation2.html#calculator](http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator_inflation2.html#calculator). [accessed 30 July 2015].



produced the plaque at Beaumont, for instance, also went on to design the Red Telephone Kiosk and is known for his work on Battersea Power Station, Waterloo Bridge, Liverpool Cathedral, and the House of Commons.<sup>114</sup> Reginald Theodore Blomfield, designer of the Obelisk at Haileybury, was, in addition, responsible for the Menin Gate at Ypres,<sup>115</sup> whilst Thomas Graham Jackson, who conceived the memorial at Radley, is credited in the ODNB as having 'altered the appearance of Oxford' more than any other architect.<sup>116</sup> The work of Charles Eamer Kempe, who designed and executed the very complex windows at Malvern and Sedbergh Schools, also 'graces many Cathedrals, including those in Wells, Lichfield, Southwark, Winchester, Durham, Gloucester, Canterbury and York Minster'.<sup>117</sup> Peter Cormack contends that the 'influence on British, Irish, and American stained glass in the early twentieth century' of Christopher Whitworth Whall, who designed the window at Tonbridge, 'would be difficult to exaggerate'.<sup>118</sup> It is clear from these comments that schools were at pains to recruit the very best professionals to realise their memorial plans. It is also relevant to point out, in support of the argument made in Chapter Three, that, in the context of the present discussion, two more schools have been identified as keeping in

<sup>114</sup> Gavin Stamp, 'Scott, Sir Giles Gilbert (1880–1960)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35987>, [accessed 8 Nov 2015]].

<sup>115</sup> M. S. Briggs, 'Blomfield, Sir Reginald Theodore (1856–1942)', rev. Richard A. Fellows, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31929>, [accessed 8 Nov 2015]].

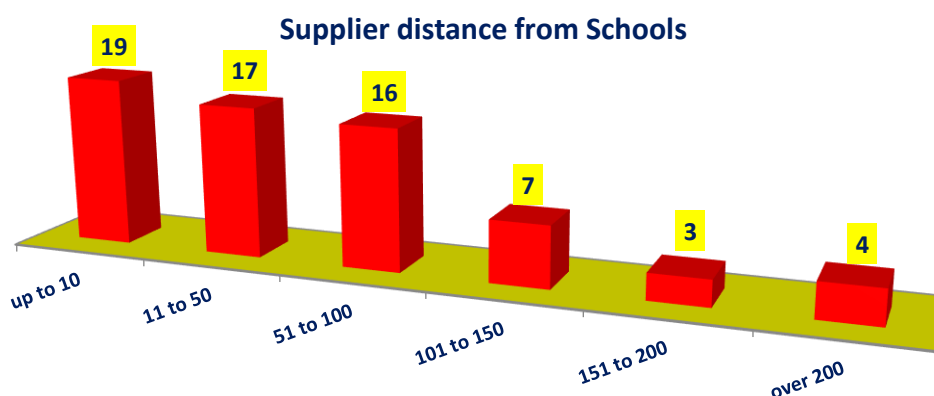
<sup>116</sup> James Bettley, 'Jackson, Sir Thomas Graham, first baronet (1835–1924)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34140>, [accessed 8 Nov 2015]].

<sup>117</sup> Martin Harrison, 'Kempe, Charles Eamer (1837–1907)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37629>, [accessed 8 Nov 2015]].

<sup>118</sup> Peter Cormack, 'Whall, Christopher Whitworth (1849–1924)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62999>, [accessed 8 Nov 2015]].

contact with their alumni – Scott and Blomfield being ex- Beaumont and Haileybury men, respectively.<sup>119</sup>

Sixty-six of the memorials investigated by this study have been matched to the individuals, or companies, responsible for their design and manufacture, and the chart provided below shows the distance, in mileage bands, between those designers/manufacturers and the schools by which they were employed.



The red columns represent numbers of schools whilst the horizontal axis represents the distance, in miles, those schools were away from their memorial supplier. It can be seen that over half of the suppliers were based less than fifty miles from their employing institutions. It might be thought that the reason for this statistic is that several suppliers were based in London and several schools were within a fifty-mile radius of the capital, but in fact over half of the schools in this category sourced from local suppliers located outside of the metropolitan area. Clifton College, Bristol, and Christ's College, Brecon, have, amongst others, already been mentioned in this regard

<sup>119</sup> Chapter Three, *Memorial Commissioning Process*, pages 167/168.

but, in addition, Burton Grammar, at Burton-on-Trent, sourced in Birmingham; Chatham House locally in Ramsgate, and five of the Scottish schools did, at least some, of their memorial shopping in Scotland. Blundell's was the only school not to have ordered its window from London, but its supplier, Drake of Exeter, would have been further away from all of the schools except Malvern which is closer to Exeter than London by just three miles. The only instance in which a school seems to have appointed a distant supplier without apparent good reason is Uppingham, in Rutland, which chose the firm of Willink & Thicknesse of 14, Castle Street, Liverpool as architects for its gymnasium/concert hall/armoury project. Philip Thicknesse had been educated at Marlborough and William Willink privately at home, so neither partner appears to have had a connection with Uppingham, although the headmaster, Edward Carus Selwyn, whose pet project was the gymnasium, had a connection of some kind with Liverpool, his two sons and daughter having been born there in the 1880s.<sup>120</sup>

It will have been realised that the individuals so far discussed in this thesis have, with the exception of the occasional school matron or nurse, been male. Women do, however, feature, albeit infrequently, in Boer War memorial design and now is therefore an appropriate point at which to discuss gender both in relation to the current topic and to some Victorian schools which catered exclusively for girls and against which relevant information has been found.

<sup>120</sup> TNA, RG12. England, Wales & Scotland Census. Piece number 2549, Folio 12, Page 17.

## *Gender*

It was mentioned in *Introduction* that men would be the primary focus throughout this thesis.<sup>121</sup> In fact, prior to the research for this present chapter, the only female reference found, apart from matron/nurse, concerns Mrs Leighton, the wife of the headmaster of Bristol Grammar who organised a concert on Thursday 28<sup>th</sup> December 1899 in aid of the War Fund. That event took place a fortnight after Black Week and was reported, by the school magazine, to have been 'the first of its kind given in the country'.<sup>122</sup>

In relation to memorial design, however, three female references have been found, one at The Leys School, Cambridge, where 'Miss Dottridge, of City Road, London,'<sup>123</sup> designed a memorial tablet, and the other at Eastbourne College where the window was 'designed and manufactured by Miss [Mary] Lowndes and Miss [Isobel] Gloag, of Brittany Studio, King's-road, Chelsea'.<sup>124</sup> It has not been possible to trace Miss Dottridge at City Road, either through census returns or other sources, and she appears not to have attended the unveiling of the plaque which she designed. The Leys, however, does have a connection with City Road through The Leysian Mission, formed in the mid-1880s by former pupils of the school concerned about social and housing conditions in London's east end. It could consequently be that Miss Dottridge was linked to the school through that organisation. Mary Lowndes, on the other hand, was a well-known stained-glass artist and she designed and made over 100 windows in the course of her career. She was a partner in the firm of Lowndes and Drury, which, interestingly, provided independent designers, such as 'cutters, glaziers and

<sup>121</sup> *Introduction*, page 7.

<sup>122</sup> BGA *The Grammar School Chronicle*. December 1902, p.23.

<sup>123</sup> Gildea, *For Remembrance*, 19.

<sup>124</sup> *Eastbourne Gazette* – 23 March 1904.

kiln-men' with facilities by means of which they could realise their own glass commissions.<sup>125</sup> One such designer was Christopher Whitworth Hall, who was contracted to plan the window at Tonbridge School and whose piece of memorial art was indeed fabricated in the Lowndes/Drury workshop. Lowndes would later become a prominent suffragette and 'chief instigator' of the The Artists' Suffrage League, as well as being 'its mainstay and organiser'.<sup>126</sup> The League was the earliest of the professional women's suffrage federations, the formation of which *The Times* described as being 'a significant sign of the new interest taken in the enfranchisement of women'.<sup>127</sup> Mary Lowndes additionally became a member of the executive committee of the London Society For Women's Suffrage,<sup>128</sup> and, as well as using her talents to create stained-glass windows, she was involved in, for instance, the design and manufacture of banners displayed at a mass meeting 'to demand the abolition of the legal disqualification which [prevented] women from voting in the election of members of Parliament'.<sup>129</sup> In a thesis dominated by men, Misses Dottridge, Lowndes and Gloag represent a signal of impending change in the social order.

## Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that there were messages of triumphalism and the celebration of victory built into memorials, particularly those that comprised windows

<sup>125</sup> Nancy Armstrong, 'Lowndes, Mary (1856–1929)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/56305>, [accessed 4 Nov 2015].

<sup>126</sup> Tickner, L., (1988) *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery Of The Suffrage Campaign 1907-1914*, London: The University of Chicago Press. p.18.

<sup>127</sup> "The Present Strength Of The Woman Suffrage Movement." *Times* [London, England] 25 June 1910: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Aug. 2015.

<sup>128</sup> "Woman Suffrage." *Times* [London, England] 11 Nov. 1908: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Aug. 2015.

<sup>129</sup> "The Woman Suffrage Procession." *Times* [London, England] 13 June 1908: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Aug. 2015.

of stained-glass or were constructed of such materials as proved capable of being carved to provide a visual meaning. The right of the country to wage war; the duty of ex-pupils to engage in it, and the belief that to lose a life in the course of duty was honourable and worthwhile were themes which were reaffirmed in the work of the memorial makers. Schools, generally, tried, where possible, to give memorial work to past pupils and to employ local tradesmen and/or professionals. Great care was taken to recognise, what was perceived as, sacrifice, and this resulted in a quality of design and of the materials used.

It has been seen that the period in which Boer War memorials were being commissioned coincided with a new awareness of design and style. It also coincided with a time when campaigning for Women's suffrage in the United Kingdom had taken a more determined turn. Greensted points out that 'expansion of art school training for women' had some impact on the male-dominated Arts and Crafts Movement, which came into being at a time of 'agitation for female suffrage'.<sup>130</sup> The nineteenth-century design debate had allowed women to slightly push open a previously closed door with the result that Mary Lowndes, amongst others, would be able to develop their artistic skills to design and manufacture the banners needed to advance their cause in the years ahead. The background against which the memorial subjects of this chapter were being designed, therefore, was one of social change and that change was written into the resultant sites of memory and remembrance.

Lawrence Walter William Weaver, an architectural writer and 'a self-appointed [arbiter] of taste', alleged that there was an 'exceeding poverty of [Boer War] memorial

<sup>130</sup> Greensted, *The Arts And Crafts Movement*, 18.

design', but it has been demonstrated here, in the various descriptions of examples provided, that this was not the case.<sup>131</sup> Indeed, even given the background set out at the beginning of the chapter, it was to be expected that design would receive very careful attention in this period. Eton took taste and design very seriously indeed and the careful choice of materials, themes and suppliers elsewhere resulted in some fine memorial art, in many cases realised by leading professionals – a few of whom were women determined to enter a sphere previously dominated by men.

The resultant sites of commemoration were diverse as never before and they called to be presented with ceremony and meaning to, in the case of this particular study, the next generation of schoolboys, possibly together with tutors, alumni, friends and family members. Those who were invited to undertake that important task, the unveilers, are the subject of the following chapter.

<sup>131</sup> Weaver, Lawrence as cited in Goebel, S., (2007) *The Great War And Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance And Medievalism In Britain And Germany*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p.41.

# Chapter Five

## *Unveiling Ceremonies*



**Clifton College, Bristol**

**Unveiling Ceremony performed by Lord Methuen on Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> June 1904**

**Photograph supplied by Dr. Charles Knighton, School Archivist, 21<sup>st</sup> January  
2011**



## *Chapter Five - Unveiling Ceremonies*

### *Introduction*

Unveiling ceremonies at public and private schools provided, as Peter Donaldson has noted, opportunities to validate school values through the actions of the dead.<sup>1</sup> Casualties of the Boer War were portrayed as having exhibited such characteristics as loyalty, manliness, honour, truthfulness, independence, and patriotism, by laying down their lives in, what was perceived as, the just, and rightful, cause of empire. Schools prided themselves, and built their reputations, upon the belief that these desirable qualities were acquired during a pupil's journey through the months and years spent within their boundaries. In addition to the ambition to deliver high educational standards, schools were keen to demonstrate that their particular system provided preparation for a life which would reflect all of these values, and additionally include a willingness to sacrifice that life should such course of action, in defence of worthy beliefs, be deemed necessary.

Those officiating at unveilings were presented with an audience which might comprise the bereaved, parents of present pupils, the pupils themselves, friends of the school, past pupils, staff, and parents of future pupils. The primary role of the unveilers, however, was not to ease the bereavement of any family/friends present. Rather, the opportunity was taken to validate school values, elevate the institution's status, and provide new faith and hope in the imperial mission. Those being memorialised had learned their codes of conduct at school and had taken them out into the wider world

<sup>1</sup> Donaldson, P., (2013) *Remembering The South African War: Britain and the Memory of the Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to the present*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, and Donaldson p., (2013) 'The Commemoration of the South African War (1899-1902) in British Public Schools', in *History & Memory*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2013), Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

for the benefit of the imperial nation and the continuing good reputation of the school. Bravery and commitment, even to the point of death in war, was considered proof of the character-forming influence of the school. Ceremonies were therefore designed to emphasise the institution's role in the moulding of desirable characteristics in young men. Unveilings were frequently planned to coincide with such important events in the school calendar as prize-giving or Founder's Day when the mood would be principally one of celebration.

In addressing the subject of school unveiling, then, the atmosphere in which the events took place will first be examined, using a number of examples. Next will follow a statistical analysis to show who performed unveilings, when and where they took place, and the religious affiliation and location of the schools involved. Unveilings generally performed in the public sphere will also be considered so as to provide a comparative view. Having effectively set the statistical background the main body of the chapter will consider the unveilers themselves under the headings Military, Clergy and Other. A final section will analyse the loyalty relationship between monarchy and religion, at the time of the Boer conflict and its commemoration, as the wartime mood of willingness to volunteer was very much one based on a cause for God, King and Country. It was a frame of mind, as will be demonstrated, which all the unveilers wished to perpetuate into the post Boer War years.

### *Commemoration atmosphere.*

All of the commemoration events demanded, of course, a solemn, serious, and ceremonious approach, but, because in many instances they were held on school days of celebration, the overall character of those occasions was considerably lighter than

might be expected, even to the point where remembrance of the dead war overshadowed by other aspects of the day. It should be remembered that an armistice took effect from Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> May 1902, and that most casualties occurred well before that date. The passage of time, therefore, had an effect on the prevalent mood at various unveiling ceremonies and must partly account for the fact that there appears to have been a minimal amount of sympathy and condolence offered, on these occasions, to the bereaved. As noted previously, however, the *first* purpose of those officiating was to advance the status of the school rather than to alleviate grief.

Bloxham School was originally named All Saints' but, as it is located on the north side of the village of Bloxham, Oxfordshire, it has become known by that name. All Saints' Day, 1<sup>st</sup> November, is a traditional time of celebration for the school and by 1879 it had established an All Saints' festival which stretched the celebration beyond just a single day. The 1<sup>st</sup> November that year was a Saturday, and activities began with Evensong the night before, during which a sermon was preached. They continued next day with a lunchtime address by the headmaster, and an afternoon concert.<sup>2</sup> Twenty-five years later, in 1904, the festival was remarkably similar. Activities commenced the previous evening and, on the day itself, the headmaster made a lunchtime speech, although the afternoon entertainment comprised a comedic play rather than a concert. The school's memorial had been unveiled the night before, but no mention was made in the headmaster's address of the five casualties which the school had suffered. Instead, he mainly used his talk to thank 'everyone who had helped to make the day a bright and jolly one for the masters and boys' and 'the preacher for his kindness in

<sup>2</sup> *Bloxhamist*, December 1879, vol. V, no. 50, pp. 108-109.

coming [the previous evening] to give them such an excellent sermon'.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the Provost made use of the few words allowed him, following the lunch, to congratulate the headmaster, and his staff, on their work, and to add his own thanks to the preacher. The emphasis at Bloxham, then, was one of celebration with the memorial unveiling taking up a small part of the weekend activities.

That feeling of incidentalness comes through from other unveiling ceremonies which were arranged to coincide with a special day in a school's calendar. Bristol Grammar chose to invite General Sir William Butler to distribute shooting prizes to the institution's cadets and, at the same time, unveil a handsome brass plaque, mounted on oak, commemorating those who had died, or taken part, in the war. Sir William arrived whilst a musical programme was in full swing and his speech was light-hearted, in places, and provoked some laughter. The local newspaper commented that 'in a considerable degree the proceedings were in the nature of a pleasant re-union of former students and their friends'.<sup>4</sup> At Bury Grammar, in October 1911, two years outside of the range covered by a graphic to be presented at the foot of page 252, the Earl of Derby distributed prizes and unveiled two large bronze tablets, one commemorating a life lost in July 1880, during the second Anglo-Afghan War; the second a death in the Matebele War of 1896, and then two more in the second Boer War.<sup>5</sup> The most recent death had occurred on Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1900 – over eleven years prior to the Earl unveiling the plaques.<sup>6</sup> The reason for the late ceremony at Bury is not recorded, but it may be presumed that the South African War deaths

<sup>3</sup> *Bloxhamist*, November 1904, vol. XXX, no. 290, pp. 49-50.

<sup>4</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Friday 5 February 1904.

<sup>5</sup> *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* – Friday 20 October 1911.

<sup>6</sup> TNA, Anglo-Boer War records 1899-1902. WO100/168. P.111. 5602 Private John Rothwell died aboard the S.S. Simla of wounds received at Spion Kop on Wednesday 24<sup>th</sup> January 1900.

prompted an investigation into any other alumni who should probably be commemorated for the part they played in war. The process to discover those individuals would have needed to be thorough, with the result that it was necessarily lengthy – certainly lengthy enough for any grief to have subsided, thus allowing this and other ceremonies to be more celebratory than lugubrious. The late commemoration at Bury of casualties in conflicts other than the Boer War seems to have stirred that particular school into prompt action several years later when it unveiled its Great War memorial just over five years after the armistice.

Prize Day 1904 was the occasion for Major J.S.M. Shea to unveil a window and cross at Sedbergh School, to six Old Serberghians who fell in South Africa, but it was far from being the only activity that day. Sir Francis Sharp Powell, who had been part-educated at the school, laid the foundation stone of the ‘new great hall and class rooms’, distributed prizes, and ‘spoke at some length on the distinction of Sedbergh ... and education matters generally’.<sup>7</sup> Major Shea then presented medals to marksmen in the rifle corps, and the headmaster spoke of the progress of the school to over 200 guests whom he had invited for lunch. During the afternoon, a cricket match was held, and the assembled crowd was additionally treated to a performance by the King’s Own Regimental Band. Once again, the memorial unveiling seems to have been a background event.

Some few months after the Sedbergh celebrations, *The Times* reported that the Archbishop of Canterbury was to have presented prizes at Whitgift Grammar School, Croydon, on Thursday 17<sup>th</sup> November 1904, but was unable to do so on account of

<sup>7</sup> *Lancashire Daily Post* – Thursday 21 July 1904.

continued indisposition. In the Archbishop's absence, 'the prizes were distributed by the Bishop of Croydon, who *also* unveiled a memorial tablet to Whitgift old boys who fell in the South African War', (*italics added*).<sup>8</sup> In a similar incident, several members of the royal family descended on Wellington College on Monday 17<sup>th</sup> June 1907, the visit being reported by *Western Daily Press* under the heading 'New Hall Opened By King'. The occasion was speech day, but the newspaper obviously considered the opening of a new dining hall for boys and prefects to be the main event. Its reporter went on to describe the presentation of 'special prizes' and, '*later in the day*' the unveiling of 'a bronze memorial' (*italics added*).<sup>9</sup> It was also a speech day which brought the Archbishop of Canterbury to Radley College on Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> June 1904 and during the visit he opened an addition to the school buildings and unveiled two Boer War memorials – one a privately-given stained-glass window and the other, the alabaster monument of St. George bestriding a vanquished dragon, already discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis,<sup>10</sup> and paradoxically described by *The Times* as 'particularly pleasing in its severe simplicity'.<sup>11</sup> These unveilings were followed by a distribution of prizes, lunch, and speeches, during which reciprocal toasting by the Archbishop and the Governing Body took place, and the day was finally rounded off by 'a large garden party, with glees from the school choir, and evening service'.<sup>12</sup>

The unveiling of a statue of St. George at Clifton College, Bristol, took place on Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> June 1904 and was performed by Lord Methuen. It is the subject of the

<sup>8</sup> "Court Circular." *Times* [London, England] 18 Nov. 1904: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 18 Nov. 2015.

<sup>9</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Tuesday 18 June 1907.

<sup>10</sup> Chapter Four, *Design and Construction*, page 211.

<sup>11</sup> "School Speech Days." *Times* [London, England] 30 June 1904: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 Mar. 2018.

<sup>12</sup> "School Speech Days." *Times* [London, England] 30 June 1904: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 18 Nov. 2015.

picture reproduced at the head of this chapter and it presents as being a major event, possibly demanding the attention of all those concerned for the whole day. Clifton is governed by an elected Council which, having accepted a design recommended by the college memorial committee, summoned the architects and sculptor to one of its meetings, with a view to obtaining further information and discussing an unveiling timetable. The guests present at the meeting undertook to have the monument ready by ‘the [1904] date of the Guthrie Commemoration’,<sup>13</sup> – an annual event at the college, first held on 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1868, and being an occasion to remember:

the building of the Chapel and of John Guthrie and Caroline, his wife, its founders, and all other “founders and benefactors, by whose benefit this whole school is brought up to Godliness and good learning”.<sup>14</sup>

At the beginning of June 1904, *Western Daily Press* had announced that, as noted below, the 25<sup>th</sup> of that month would be a busy day at Clifton College:

In addition to the Guthrie Commemoration service and the customary cricket match between the College team and Old Cliftonians, there will be a prize distribution in the afternoon, and the Old Cliftonians’ memorial to their comrades who fell in South Africa is to be unveiled by Lord Methuen.<sup>15</sup>

The college clock, in the photograph on page 239, reveals that the Union Jack fell from the monument at 3.45 p.m., so the unveiling took place late in the day, once all of the other business had been concluded.

Speech Day at Derby School, the following year, was reported upon by *Nottingham Evening Post*, which commented that it had been ‘rendered more than usually interesting ... by the unveiling of a memorial to fallen Derbyians by the High Sheriff, Colonel R.W. Chandos-Pole’.<sup>16</sup> The newspaper seems to have thought, from the way

<sup>13</sup> CCA. Minute Book ‘Memorial Old Cliftonians’, p.176.

<sup>14</sup> Trafford, C., (ed.) (2009) *The Best School Of All: 150 Years Of Clifton College*, London: Third Millennium Publishing Limited, a subsidiary of Third Millennium Information Limited. p.181.

<sup>15</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Friday 3 June 1904.

<sup>16</sup> *Nottingham Evening Post* – Monday 31 July 1905.

it arranged its headline, that the main business to be conducted was the awards presentation by Mrs Chandos-Pole and indeed that part of the proceedings must have taken up considerable time as honours were distributed in eleven categories to fifty-seven recipients and involved ten prize-presenters in addition to the Colonel's wife. A further nineteen individuals who had in some way distinguished themselves also merited a mention. Small wonder, then, that *Nottingham Post's* reporter came away with the impression that the principal purpose of the day was to celebrate academic and career achievement rather than to unveil a tablet to the victims of war.

At a few other institutions unveiling *was* a single event. At Framlingham College, for example, the memorial took the form of a new pulpit, above which had been placed a brass tablet, so this was not so much an unveiling occasion as an opportunity for a first-time address from the new preaching facility. Early in the afternoon of Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> May 1904 Old Framlinghamians, parents, and friends of those who had served and died in South Africa, took their places at the back of the school chapel to witness a lengthy and solemn occasion. First to arrive, once all guests were seated, were the boys, numbering about 300 in all, then followed by members of the Cadet Corps together with their instructors. Next came the choir accompanied by six reverend gentlemen then, when everyone was in place, music was played, and solos, anthems, and hymns were sung before one of the clergymen mounted the new pulpit to deliver a sermon. The unveiling at Framlingham seems to have been the most ceremonious and focused of all the similar occasions investigated by this study.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Framlingham Weekly News* – Saturday 14 May 1904.



In September 1904, Lord Methuen unveiled an unusual plaque at Kendrick School, Reading. It consisted of three panels – the central one bearing the inscription ‘This Roll of Honour is erected to those Old Kendricks who died Heroes’.<sup>18</sup> At the top of the left-hand panel appear three alumni names, one who fell in the Chitral Campaign of 1895 and the other two, men who died in the South African War. Whilst this unveiling was a single event, in the sense that it did not coincide with any school celebration, it did commemorate those who died in two conflicts. Further, *The Times* reported the memorial as being ‘in memory of old Kendrick boys who have fallen, *or may hereafter fall*, in the service of their country’ (italics added), and, in that expectation, most of the left-hand panel, and the whole of the right-hand, was left as blank, grey, Swedish granite.<sup>19</sup> Those spaces have now, regrettably, been filled with the names of alumni who perished in subsequent wars.

Kendrick’s ceremony, unlike that at Framlingham, had been secular in nature. Other secular, and single-case events, were the unveilings performed by Lord Roberts at Uppingham School on Thursday 30<sup>th</sup> March 1905 and at St Paul’s School, Hammersmith Road, on Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup> May 1906. The unveiling at University College School was also secular and this will be further discussed a little later.<sup>20</sup> It was more usual, however, to have a religious dimension through a combination of military man and clergyman, with either one performing the actual unveiling and one, or sometimes both, making the speeches. Nevertheless, in the majority of the occasions studied, the mood was celebratory and cheerful, and the unveiling ceremonies were a complementary, rather than the principal, part of the proceedings. The main purpose

<sup>18</sup> Noted at Reading School, where the plaque now resides, during a visit on Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> June 2016.

<sup>19</sup> “Naval & Military Intelligence.” *Times* [London, England] 24 Sept. 1904: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 24 Nov. 2015.

<sup>20</sup> Pages 279/280.

of those celebratory days was, of course, not only to highlight academic, or sporting, or soldierly, achievements and sacrifices, by the awarding of prizes and cups, and the unveiling of memorials, but to draw attention to the institution which had established the background against which all such good and heroic activity had taken place.

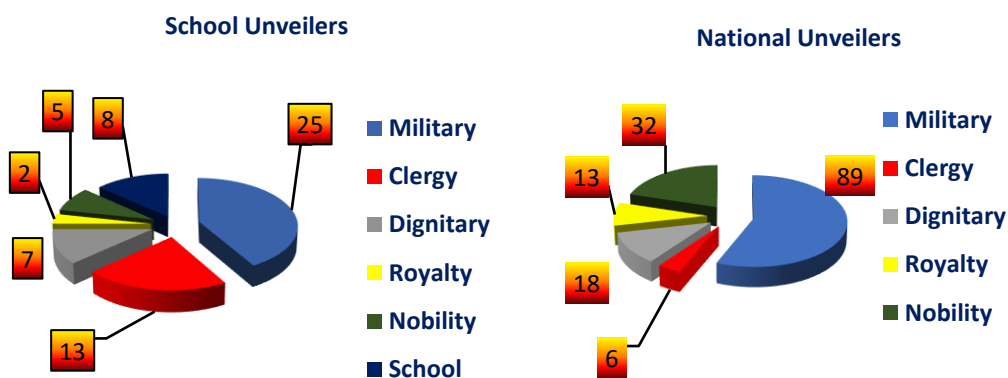
The point can be reinforced by mention of the unveiling at St. Edmund's College, Ware, which took place on Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> October 2013. It is a school which will be referenced on page 252 as being outside the scope of the unveilings graphic, and it provided a rare opportunity to witness such a ceremony in contemporary times. Edmund's had discovered that some men who perished in the Indian Mutiny, the Crimean, First Matabele, Second Boer, and First- and Second- World wars, as well as in the Northern Ireland conflict, had not previously been commemorated at the College, and it decided to commission a tablet to rectify the omissions. A programme was produced for the day which included a history of the institution, a background to the memorial, and the men being remembered, and a Service of Dedication. Invited guests, amongst whom I was privileged to be numbered, were given an internal and external tour of the college by the archivist and treated to a drinks reception and lunch by the headmaster, with various other school officials being on hand to discuss, and answer questions on, what St Edmund's had to offer as an educational establishment. The mood, as it had been elsewhere over one hundred years previously, was overall celebratory but sombre during the actual dedication ceremony.

On such occasions unveiling speeches and other addresses, whilst coming at the audience from different starting directions, could deliver messages of praise for the school as well as remembering casualties of war or recognising achievement through

prize distribution and the awarding of scholarships. At the most basic level, then, the ceremonies discussed were a justification for a particular school's existence, and an encouragement for the parents of current and potential pupils to consider that school as a suitable place at which to educate, and mould, their offspring. Invited unveilers, however, also had an agenda of their own and they will be the subject of discussion immediately following a presentation of the statistical basis upon which the remainder of this chapter is based.

### *Statistical Analysis*

Military men and clergy account for just under two-thirds of those who performed the sixty unveiling ceremonies investigated for this chapter, but other sections of the community, such as local celebrities, or those with a particular connection to the school, were also involved. In addition to these ceremonies 158 others were located in *The Times* by using the search word 'unveil' through the years 1900-1909 inclusive and, again, the proportion being performed by military men and clergy amounts to just above sixty percent. The split between those two *Times* groups of unveilers, however, was different and a full breakdown of all the groups, both in the school instances and others is presented in graphic form below.

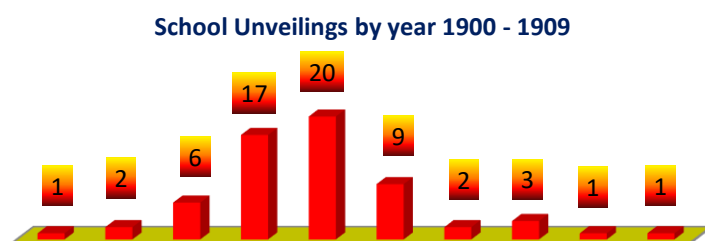


Military personnel, coloured blue, were the first choice, in the schools covered by this study, to perform unveilings, the next largest group being clergy, coloured red. In many instances, however, both military and clergy participated in the ceremony although in all cases the actual unveiling responsibility was given to just one person. Next came school personnel – headmasters, old boys etc., coloured dark blue; followed by local dignitaries, comprising businessmen, city mayors, and the like, coloured grey. Members of the nobility, green, came next and, lastly, (and presumably because they wanted to reserve themselves for only the most prestigious occasions), members of the royal family, yellow. In the case of the other unveilings, termed ‘national’ in the chart on the right of the previous page, military personnel, blue, were again the first choice but clergy, again coloured red, only unveiled in less than 4% of the 158 newspaper reports. Not too much, however, should be read into that, at first glance, surprising statistic. Colonel W.H. Long, commanding the Royal Wilts Imperial Yeomanry, for example, unveiled a memorial tablet at Warminster Church on Saturday 16<sup>th</sup> June 1902 in memory of members of his regiment but it was at the end of a service conducted by vicar Reverend H.R. Whytehead.<sup>21</sup> Similarly Major-General H.E. Belfield unveiled a tablet at the Grosvenor Club, Piccadilly, on Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> June 1907, commemorating past club members, but prayers were offered by the Dean of Hereford. Major-General Henry Cook, club president, commented that ‘it was appropriate that an officer who had distinguished himself in the war should perform the ceremony’<sup>22</sup> and this sentiment, along with a natural desire to involve senior figures connected with any unit being commemorated, seems to mostly account for the large ‘national’ percentage of military unveilers.

<sup>21</sup> “The Army In South Africa.” *Times* [London, England] 16 June 1902: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 7 Mar. 2016.

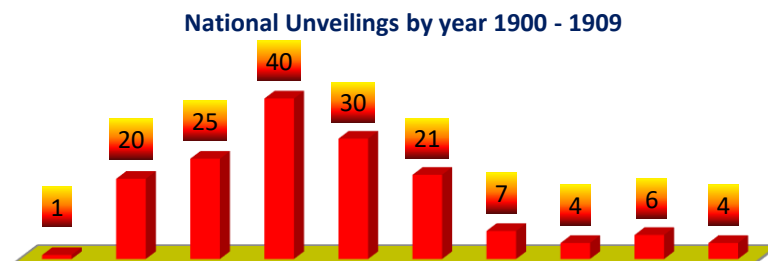
<sup>22</sup> “Naval And Military Intelligence.” *Times* [London, England] 12 June 1907: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 7 Mar. 2016.

Even so, men of the cloth were prominent figures in the schools covered by this study, including several of the headmasters, so it is to be expected that this group would probably feature in school unveiling ceremonies to a greater extent than in the wider ‘national’ context. The earliest school unveilings were in 1900/1901, during which years the war was still in progress, subsequently building through 1902/1903 to a peak in 1904. Ceremonies then petered out as the decade progressed but there were two schools, Bury Grammar and St. Edmunds’, Ware, whose ceremonies fell outside the range of this graphic and those particular institutions, and the reasons for their late commemoration, will be discussed later on. It might be noted that sixty-two unveilings are covered meaning, when referring back to the previous chart, that there were four occasions upon which the identity of the unveiler is unknown.



The pattern in the 158 ‘national’ ceremonies is similar except that activity peaked one year earlier, in 1903, indicating that the schools in this study took slightly longer to put their memorialisation plans in place than the national average indicated in *The Times*. In common with the schools, however, some ‘national’ ceremonies extended beyond 1909, the first being at Chelmsford where a memorial to the officers and men of the Essex Regiment was unveiled on New Year’s Day 1910.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> “Naval And Military Intelligence.” *Times* [London, England] 3 Jan. 1910: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 7 Mar. 2016.



111 of the schools in this study are known to have erected memorials, but unveiling dates are only available in sixty-four cases and the identity of the unveiler in only sixty. The main reasons for the gaps are that some records have been lost over the passage of time whilst others were not created in the first place. A somewhat sad, but not unique, response from Cargilfield Preparatory School indicates that in a few instances further information may be awaiting discovery:

Over the years the archive has not received much attention ... while there is a cupboard which contains boxes of old records and photographs nobody knows what is in there or where to start looking.<sup>24</sup>

It seems odd that a school should not record memorial detail, but the erection of a small plaque or tablet might not necessarily have been an elaborate affair. A report in *The Times*, part-quoted below, indicates that, nationally, casual unveilings could take place with no particular piece of information being documented:

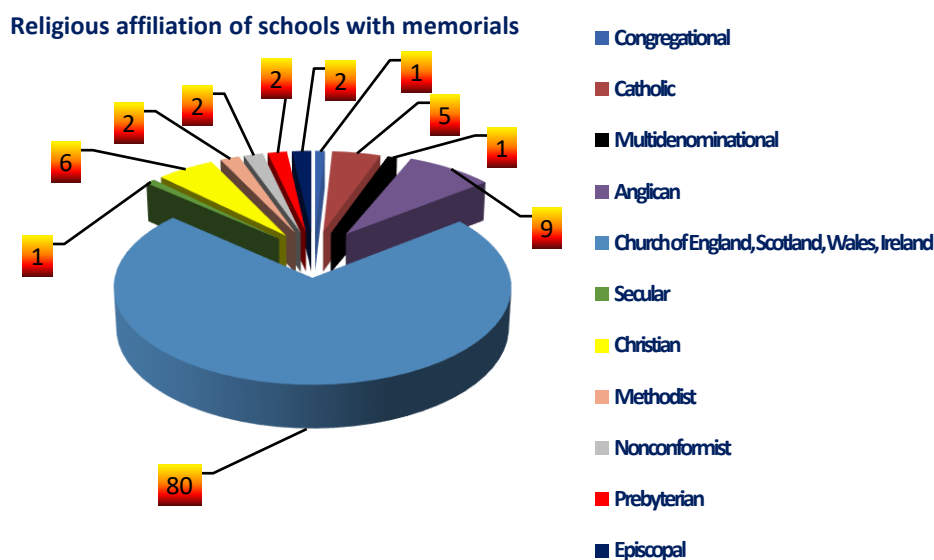
Upwards of 200 members of the service companies of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> V.B. Northumberland Fusiliers arrived at Newcastle-on-Tyne from South Africa at 7 o'clock yesterday morning ... Dinners, concerts, and torchlight processions were organized, and tablets recording their services were unveiled.<sup>25</sup>

Turning now to the religious affiliations of the 111 schools known to have erected memorials, the chart appearing on the following page shows that eleven

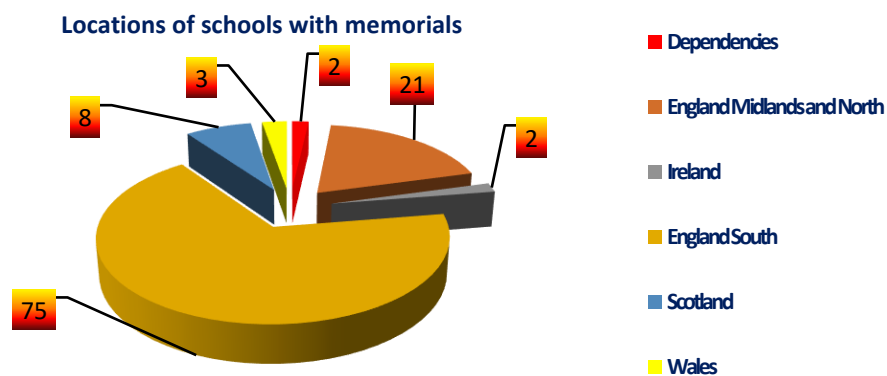
<sup>24</sup> Young, Cate (admin@cargilfield.com), 2013. *Re your enquiry*. 23 January. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>25</sup> "The War." *Times* [London, England] 22 May 1901: 12. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016.

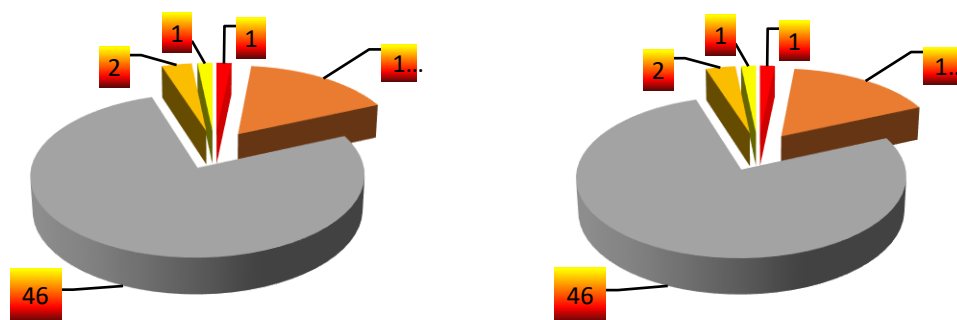
denominations were involved, the majority of them being within the Protestant tradition.



The location of these 111 schools is shown in the following graphic and it demonstrates that erection of memorials was widespread throughout the British Isles.



If the previous two graphics, religious affiliation (top) and location (bottom), are run against just the sixty schools for which unveiling dates and unveilers are known, the results are very much the same, as demonstrated in the two charts shown overleaf:



In the left-hand chart, showing religious affiliation, Congregational and Methodist have dropped out and in the right-hand, showing location, Ireland no longer appears. London Orphan Asylum, Watford, is the Congregational establishment whose memorial information is unknown and the two Methodist schools which failed to record complete unveiling details are The Leys, Cambridge, and Kingswood School, Bath. Kingswood just mentioned in their July 1904 magazine ‘a new brass has recently been placed in the Senior Schoolroom ... in honour of the Old Boys who fell in the Boer War’,<sup>26</sup> whilst Leys commemorated four ex-pupils by means of a brass placed in a chapel not built until 1906.<sup>27</sup>

Of the 158 ‘national’ unveilings located in *The Times* only five took place in Ireland, four in the Ulster Province of the island and one in Dublin (Leinster Province).

The first decade of the twentieth century saw an increase in Irish nationalism and the paper more commonly reported unveilings connected with Irish rising, revolution and

<sup>26</sup> *Kingswood Magazine*, July 1904, p.138.

<sup>27</sup> Harding, John (jch@theleys.net), 2012. *Re Boer War Research*. 20 June. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie)



rebellion.<sup>28</sup> The bizarre case of one Hugh Carbery, who was killed fighting *against* the British at the battle of Modderspruit deserves a mention. A monument was erected to his memory at the Roman Catholic Cemetery Armagh, and unveiled, in June 1902, by Michael Davitt, an Irish republican member of parliament, and himself a supporter of the Boer cause. In January 1903, however, two natives of Armagh, who knew Carbery well, reported having recently seen him alive and well in Pretoria. Further, correspondence was received from Carbery asserting that he was ‘never killed at all’ and requesting ‘the loan of a five-pound note’ which, he wrote, could be raised by selling the memorial at auction as he had ‘no present use for statuary’.<sup>29</sup>

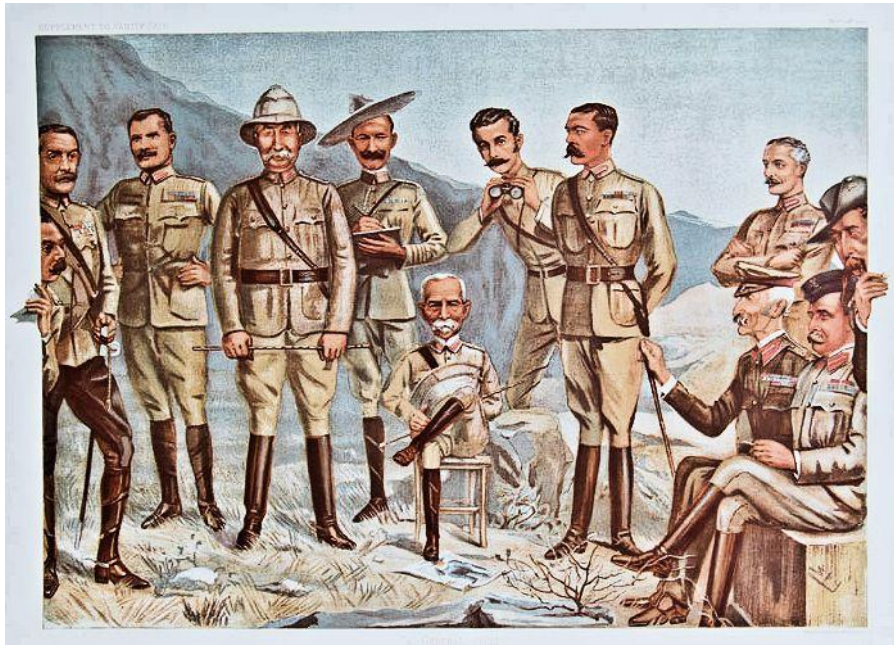
This anecdote only adds to the comparative research in this section a flavour of the London appetite for a good Irish commemoration story in the aftermath of the South African War and at a time when Home Rule for Ireland was vaguely back on the agenda. The rest of the section has effectively set the statistical scene and against this background it is now time to consider the unveilers themselves, starting with the largest group, men of the military.

<sup>28</sup> “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 25 Nov. 1904: 5. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 16 Apr. 1900: 5. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 17 Sept. 1902: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 9 May 1904: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 1 Aug. 1905: 12. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 7 Aug. 1905: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 10 Sept. 1906: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 8 Oct. 1906: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 1 Sept. 1909: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016.

<sup>29</sup> *St. James’s Gazette* – Friday 23 January 1903.

## *The Unveilers*

### *Military Men*



**Lord Roberts and his commanders. From *Vanity Fair*, Thurs 29<sup>th</sup> November 1900, Caricaturist: Spy; Source: Wikimedia Commons.**

Recruiting for the South African War had exposed a general national unpreparedness, in that a high percentage of recruits were found to be in poor physical condition, and therefore not acceptable for service. In the public/private schools, however, sporting activities were encouraged whilst kitchen and medical staff were employed to look after the boys' physical wellbeing – and this against the widely-enjoyed home background of nurses and cooks established in Chapter Two. The result was that the ex-public/private pupil recruits covered by this study were, mostly, in much better than average physical shape. Military men were nevertheless anxious to ready young men for possible future conflict by stressing the importance of physical fitness; encouraging training in drill and the use of weaponry whilst impressing on the schoolboys they addressed that they would likely become officers with a responsibility to lead by example.

All but one of the military unveilers to be discussed in this chapter were of a very high rank. The highest, Lord Roberts, had been in overall command of the forces in South Africa and was Commander-in-Chief of the British Army from September 1900 until the post was abolished in 1904. This section will demonstrate that he was the most popular military unveiler and argue that the others followed his lead in formulating their unveiling addresses.

Brian Robson describes Roberts as ‘one of the most famous men of his era, immensely admired, a popular imperial hero – celebrated in biographies, verse, pottery, and picture postcards’.<sup>30</sup> Roberts unveiled school memorials at St Paul’s, Winchester, Glenalmond and Uppingham plus twenty-three of the 158 ‘national’ ceremonies discovered in *The Times*. He was also present at a number of other commemorations where memorials were unveiled by his colleagues. During just the year 1906 Roberts officiated at locations as far apart as the Chelsea Embankment,<sup>31</sup> and Falkirk<sup>32</sup> where, because of the high demand on his time, the authorities had to wait several months for him to perform their ceremony. That procedure had originally been scheduled for early summer but at a meeting of the Falkirk War Memorial Committee, held in the town’s Drill Hall on the evening of Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup> May 1906, a letter from Roberts, indicating that he would not now be available until autumn, was read.<sup>33</sup> The fine sculpture of two Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, in bronze, on a rough rubble granite pedestal, was, as promised, officially unveiled by the earl on Saturday the 19<sup>th</sup> of October. The delay, however, had caused some embarrassment as the monument

<sup>30</sup> Brian Robson, ‘Roberts, Frederick Sleight, first Earl Roberts (1832–1914)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35768, [accessed 14 Jan 2016].

<sup>31</sup> *Cheltenham Chronicle* – Saturday 30 June 1906.

<sup>32</sup> *Edinburgh Evening News* – Friday 19 October 1906.

<sup>33</sup> *Falkirk Herald* – Wednesday 30 May 1906.

had been ready since May and an objection to its being hidden beneath a tarpaulin in the centre of town for any length of time had resulted in an unceremonious initial unveiling by the sculptor himself on the evening of Friday 1<sup>st</sup> June.<sup>34</sup> It is an example of the lapse of time between death and memorialisation perhaps allowing the sculpture to become more important than the men whose names were inscribed upon it.

Schoolboys, in particular, received Roberts as a hero, the reason being that he was seen, from his heroic past in Afghanistan, as possessing, in abundance, characteristics of courage, patriotism and manliness, qualities which they, the boys, were most encouraged to acquire during their educational years. Manliness, in particular, is a word which occurs in many addresses to late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century pupils, as well as in popular adventure stories by the likes of George Alfred Henty, as already noted in Chapter Four.<sup>35</sup> During the period of the second Boer War, 11<sup>th</sup> October 1899 to 31<sup>st</sup> May 1902, the word appears fifty-six times in *The Times*, whereas in the similar period 11<sup>th</sup> October 1982 to 31<sup>st</sup> May 1985, presently the last year for which the paper is available online, it occurs only twelve times. Manliness was therefore an expression much in fashion at the time of these memorial unveilings and a quality highly admired in those perceived to have possessed it. The term also extended to ‘muscular Christianity’,<sup>36</sup> and it therefore came to encompass all of the qualities which were seen as most desirable in late-Victorian and early-Edwardian male youth. The Boys’ Brigade, founded in 1883, albeit as a working-class organisation, neatly put together all of those qualities with which schools wished to

<sup>34</sup> *Falkirk Herald* – Wednesday 6 June 1906.

<sup>35</sup> Chapter Four, *Memorial Design and Construction*, pages 203/204.

<sup>36</sup> A phrase which, according OED, originates in *The National Magazine*, June 552/2, 1853.

furnish their pupils, and which the pupils themselves looked for in their heroes, in its stated objective:

The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness.<sup>37</sup>

Almost equally as popular as Roberts, in the matter of ceremonial performance, was his fellow Old Etonian, and friend,<sup>38</sup> Lord Methuen, who unveiled memorials at Clifton, Sherborne and Kendrick schools. Many of the senior military unveilers, as might be expected, had a connection to Roberts, but, apart from Methuen, only two of those investigated, Major-General Robert George Kekewich, who performed a ceremony at Marlborough, and Lieutenant-General Sir Ian Standish Monteith Hamilton, who unveiled a tablet at Glenalmond, appear to have had a positive relationship with the Commander-in-Chief. Kekewich successfully defended the diamond-mining town of Kimberley from Sunday 15<sup>th</sup> October 1899 to Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> February 1900, and won praise from Roberts for his skilful conduct,<sup>39</sup> whilst Hamilton had seen active service with Roberts, dating back to the second Anglo-Afghan War of 1878-1880, and was widely regarded as his protégé.

The objective of schools in inviting military unveilers was to introduce the boys to men who had been involved in war and were seen, like Roberts, to possess manliness. Wherever possible schools, because they also wished to emphasise their own success, invited a past pupil to perform the task, and Kekewich, being a Marlburian, a high-ranking officer, and a close colleague of Roberts, was the ideal choice for Marlborough

<sup>37</sup> *Glasgow Herald* – Monday 23 April 1894.

<sup>38</sup> C. T. Atkinson, 'Methuen, Paul Sanford, third Baron Methuen (1845–1932)', rev. Roger T. Stearn, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35003>, [accessed 14 Jan 2016].

<sup>39</sup> C. V. Owen, 'Kekewich, Robert George (1854–1914)', rev. M. G. M. Jones, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34262>, [accessed 14 Jan 2016].

College. Other schools were also able to involve successful Old Boys, or men with a connection of some kind, and these will be identified as the chapter progresses. Roberts, by the time of most unveilings, had interested himself in the National Service League, an organisation keen to introduce conscription, and was issuing warnings throughout the country,<sup>40</sup> and in the House of Lords,<sup>41</sup> that there had been a national unpreparedness at the outbreak of war in 1899. He asserted that such a situation needed immediate attention so as to safeguard against possible future hostilities. Roberts missed no opportunity to promote the cause of preparedness probably starting, in a public/private school context, with an address given at Winchester College during his laying of the memorial gateway foundation stone on Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> October 1902. At that ceremony, Roberts hoped that the college would continue to encourage boys to enter the army and that 'rifle-shooting and gymnastic exercises might not be neglected'.<sup>42</sup> It was a theme which all of the military unveilers would employ in their various speeches and this uniform state of affairs, in my own opinion, would not have occurred without Roberts taking a firm lead amongst his colleagues to persuade them that they should seize unveiling opportunities to promote military preparedness.

Roberts, whilst extremely popular at home, had been the subject of some criticism from other military leaders during the South African campaign.<sup>43</sup> He, in turn, had

<sup>40</sup> For example, in an address to a special meeting of members of the London Chamber of Commerce reported as: "Lord Roberts On Imperial Defence." *Times* [London, England] 2 Aug. 1905: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 Jan. 2016.

<sup>41</sup> For example, at a sitting on Monday 10<sup>th</sup> July 1905 on the topic of Home Defence, reported in House of Commons Parliamentary Papers.

<sup>42</sup> "Lord Roberts At Winchester." *Times* [London, England] 10 Oct. 1902: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 Jan. 2016.

<sup>43</sup> Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Kelly-Kenny (who unveiled at Stonyhurst) blamed Roberts for inadequate supplies at Poplar Grove. Field-Marshal Sir Henry Evelyn Wood, (unveiler at Beaumont) was also critical of the Commander-in-Chief and passed that criticism on to Leo Amery for use in his *Times History of the War in South Africa*.

been critical of several of them so, at the end of the conflict, some degree of bad blood must have existed between the Commander-in-Chief and his colleagues.<sup>44</sup> Following the armistice, Roberts had ample opportunity to meet those other leaders in his travels around the country to attend commemorative events. It is thus my belief that during that time he kept them firmly abreast of his concerns for preparedness and used his powers of persuasion to put any differences behind them and ensure that military speeches, at least those delivered to public/private schools, were remarkably similar.

Robson part-describes Roberts as ‘manipulative’ and ‘on occasions devious’<sup>45</sup> and the Earl’s private papers indeed reveal a duplicitous eagerness to seize opportunities to keep abreast of military thinking in Europe, even after he left the War Office in February 1904. The following example, which took place less than seven years before the start of WWI, will demonstrate the point. It will also show why Roberts was so keen to spread his message that Britain needed to prepare, even against an apparent enthusiasm, at that time, by both population and establishment, for Wilhelm II, Emperor of Germany.

General Sir Henry de Beauvoir de Lisle, who had been recognised by Roberts as a leader of mounted troops during the war,<sup>46</sup> was invited to Berlin in early September 1907, as one of a party of British officers and as a guest of the German Emperor. His

<sup>44</sup> Roberts had been critical of General Sir John French (who unveiled at Haileybury); Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Henry Fitzroy Paget (unveiler at Bedford Grammar); General Sir William Forbes Gatacre (Felsted School) and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Kelly-Kenny (Stonyhurst).

<sup>45</sup> Brian Robson, ‘Roberts, Frederick Sleigh, first Earl Roberts (1832–1914)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35768, [accessed 22 March 2016].

<sup>46</sup> Stephen Badsey, ‘Lisle, Sir (Henry de) Beauvoir De (1864–1955)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/63736, [accessed 22 March 2016].



visit was to witness autumn manoeuvres, but, judging from a letter he wrote Roberts two months later, he spent the majority of his time discussing the possibility of war. de Lisle begins his letter by saying that Roberts had asked him, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, to set down his views on, what he, Roberts, termed, the German Danger. de Lisle proceeded to do so in about 1,400 words spread over nine pages which he finished on Friday the 15<sup>th</sup>. These dates are significant. The German Emperor and his wife, together with a large entourage, made a state visit to Britain that November and on the 11<sup>th</sup> Roberts and de Lisle, in the company of the Prince of Wales, the German Ambassador, and others, travelled by special train to Portsmouth to meet and greet the guests. It was a glittering occasion during which the Emperor, dressed in the uniform of a British Admiral of the Fleet, and the Prince, similarly attired in a German Admiral's uniform, inspected guards of honour, against a background of cheering crowds and saluting warships.<sup>47</sup> The visitors then proceeded to Windsor Castle where they stayed until the weekend and during that time the Emperor conferred various honours, amongst them a second class of the Order of the Red Eagle on de Lisle.<sup>48</sup>

Both Roberts and de Lisle had been 'specially attached by the King to their imperial majesties the German Emperor and Empress' and had been with them throughout their stay. de Lisle nevertheless found time to handwrite his letter during this period and, under his signature at the end he wrote, 'Windsor Castle' and '15 November 1907'.<sup>49</sup> If the Emperor had hoped to gain any friends during the visit, he certainly failed with General de Lisle. The letter states 'it is an undeniable fact that the British are hated in

<sup>47</sup> "The German Imperial Visit." *Times* [London, England] 12 Nov. 1907: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 30 Jan. 2016.

<sup>48</sup> "The German Imperial Visit." *Times* [London, England] 13 Nov. 1907: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 30 Jan. 2016.

<sup>49</sup> TNA, WO105, Lord Robert's papers. Letter from Sir Henry de Beauvoir De Lisle to Lord Roberts dated 11<sup>th</sup> November 1907.



Germany'; 'the Emperor's absorbing ambition is military fame'; 'with a man of his determination ... it is more than likely that ... Germany would not hesitate from conscientious scruples to land troops in England'; 'the general belief [in Germany] is that War is almost certain to take place in the near future'; and 'for the past 10 years, the naval and military energy in Germany has been directed with a view to a possible war with England'.<sup>50</sup> Roberts was not slow to react to de Lisle's letter. He received it on a Friday and as early as the following Tuesday he resigned his position as President of the National Defence Association, presumably in order to concentrate on reinforcing his message of preparedness during his travels around the country. The following few examples now demonstrate the cohesiveness, in terms of messages delivered, between those military men who performed unveiling ceremonies at Manchester Grammar, Marlborough, Haileybury, Bedford, Repton and Felsted.

The lowest ranking military unveiler, covered by this study, was Captain W.H.S. Nickerson of the Royal Army Medical Corps who, as a Lieutenant, had been awarded the Victoria Cross for an act of courage at Wakkerstroom. He, along with Lieutenant-Colonel George Wright, unveiled the plaque at Manchester Grammar; both men were old Mancunians. Colonel Wright, following the speech pattern of first endorsing the school, opened his address, to a large gathering of invited guests and schoolboys past and present, by saying that 'old history and traditions' were important factors 'in the building up of esprit de corps, which was of such value and gave such high tone to a school'.<sup>51</sup> Wright went on to observe that a powerful Navy, and an efficient Army, were indispensable to retain possession of a mighty empire; to advocate military

<sup>50</sup> TNA, WO105, Lord Robert's papers. Letter from Sir Henry de Beauvoir De Lisle to Lord Roberts dated 11<sup>th</sup> November 1907.

<sup>51</sup> *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* – Saturday 24 September 1904.

training in schools; and to argue that every boy should be taught how to handle a rifle and should pass through the ranks of the Volunteers. Captain Nickerson endorsed Wright's remarks and added that, whatever career paths the boys chose to follow they should not forget their duty to help defend the country. The only unusual part of both speeches was that the Boers were cited as examples of men who could shoot and ride well; examples which, in those respects, the boys could not do better than follow.

Similarly, Major-General Kekewich told the pupils at Marlborough that it was the duty of every boy and man to train himself to be an efficient defender of his country and added that he would 'like to see drill and the art of war taught in every school'.<sup>52</sup> Sir John French, in unveiling the obelisk at Haileybury, mentioned that the qualities needed 'when in a tight place' were not 'Heaven born', but 'cultivated, improved, and trained', and he congratulated the college on having added 'fresh lustre' to its, already 'bright', 'escutcheon' by reason of 'those who had fallen in the war'.<sup>53</sup> Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Paget told the boys in his audience, at Bedford, that they 'came from good fighting stock, and a good fighting school'.<sup>54</sup> The school had a junior training corps and when they went on to university they could pass into a senior corps and thus ensure that the country was able to defend itself. 'There were many ways of dying', the Lieutenant-General continued, but if the boys had 'the bad luck to be killed', they would have the satisfaction to know that 'their schoolfellows, relations and friends' would put up 'tablets to their memory' and they 'would be regarded as

<sup>52</sup> "Naval & Military Intelligence." *Times* [London, England] 24 Mar. 1903: 5. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 18 Jan. 2016.

<sup>53</sup> "Naval & Military Intelligence." *Times* [London, England] 27 July 1903: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 18 Jan. 2016.

<sup>54</sup> *Bedford Times and Independent* – Friday 30 July 1909.

heroes'.<sup>55</sup> Whether or not Paget's rather insensitive inurement to death provided any comfort to boys contemplating a military career is not recorded.

In addressing the pupils at Repton, Lieutenant-General Sir Neville Lyttelton issued a reminder that many men had died of disease. It was not, therefore, 'the bullet, the bayonet, the sword, or the shell that they had to dread most when they went into action, but dysentery, enteric, and other fevers'.<sup>56</sup> The General said that he knew well, however, that those foes would not deter British soldiers, or officers, from taking their fair share of the dangers their country might call upon them to face. In this case the reaction *is* recorded as the comments were enthusiastically greeted by cries of hear, hear. General Gatacre's message to the pupils of Felsted was that he looked upon 'military training as the best thing to bring out all that was best in a boy'.<sup>57</sup> He thought it evident that, from the great number of well-trained and memorable men the school had sent into the world, that a high tone was being maintained.

In many of these instances, schools greeted their unveiling guests with a show of their own military strength, as if to demonstrate that they were already well attuned to the messages likely to be delivered. At Haileybury, French inspected 250 college cadets, whilst the cadet number greeting Kekewich at Marlborough was 220, and Roberts at St. Paul's, 150. At Bedford, cadets lined the galleries of the School Hall, whilst a guard of honour, formed of cadets dressed in khaki, greeted Gatacre at Felsted. Buglers of the Repton Cadet Corps sounded *The Last Post* at that school's unveiling,

<sup>55</sup> *Bedford Times and Independent* – Friday 30 July 1909.

<sup>56</sup> *Derby Daily Telegraph* – Friday 17 June 1904.

<sup>57</sup> *Essex County Chronicle* – 4 December 1903.

and at Clifton College the strength, quality and earnestness of the cadet corps can be gauged from the photograph reproduced at the head of this chapter.

It has been seen that the peak period for unveilings occurred in the years 1903, 1904 and 1905 and these, coincidentally, were the years in which military men would have found a great deal of fuel for the idea that schools should teach young men martial skills and treat alumni who had perished as shining examples of manliness, selflessness and courage. The report of a Royal Commission into the War in South Africa, published at the beginning of this period, found it evident that ‘the defence of the Kingdom, so far as it may depend upon an internal well-trained and organized military force was [at the time of the South African War] dangerously weak’; it also found that morale, courage, endurance, discipline and cheerfulness ‘under adverse circumstances, left little or nothing to be desired’.<sup>58</sup>

Whatever their differences with one another, military unveilers, drawing support from the National Service League, the Royal Commission, and particularly, in my own view, from Lord Roberts, were able to speak with a single voice when called upon to perform ceremonies. Clergy also spoke with a similar voice, as will be demonstrated in the coming section.

<sup>58</sup> Bruce, Victor Alexander, House of Commons Command Papers. *Report of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the military preparations and other matters connected with the War in South Africa*. Parliamentary Session:1904. Paper number Cd.1789.

### *Clergymen*

At the same time as unpreparedness was being recognised, organised religion was experiencing a decline in numbers attending church as evidenced in the Greater London area by a religious census which found that in the Church of England there were only three worshippers in 1902-1903 for every four found there in 1886.<sup>59</sup> Hugh McLeod extends this finding to the north of the country and establishes that, between the mid-eighteenth century and 1902-4, Roman Catholic attendance rates held steady whilst both Anglicans and Nonconformists suffered major losses.<sup>60</sup> McLeod attributes this fall to religious doubt, increased competition for leisure time, and a shrinkage in the social paternalism in which religious institutions had previously played a major part. Relevant to the current investigation, McLeod also finds (although his comment is not specifically related to schools covered by this study) that ‘the role of religion and the churches in education ... was diminishing – in some areas very rapidly’.<sup>61</sup> Against this disquieting background clergy were anxious to link their speeches to the word of God, thus to demonstrate its relevance to memorialisation in the world of the early twentieth century. Their purpose was to encourage belief and use unveiling opportunities to try reverse any downward trend in religious observance, wherever it might be found.

Clergy, as well as endorsing the schools, will be shown in this segment to have supported military leaders both in how they had acted in South Africa and in the messages they, the military, would convey. McLeod has already noted that the armed forces had been accepted as legitimate fields of Christian service from the 1860s and

<sup>59</sup> Stoddart, J.T., (1904) ‘The *Daily News* Census Of 1903-3 Compared With The *British Weekly* Census Of 1886’, in Mudie-Smith, R., (1904) *The Religious Life Of London*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, p.281.

<sup>60</sup> McLeod, H., (1996) *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd. p. 172.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. p. 223.

that military expressions were commonly used to present Christianity in language which would be well understood.<sup>62</sup> Using such rhetoric, clergymen had additional meanings of their own to put across, many of which would, today, be regarded as, sometimes blunt, sometimes frightening, and, on at least one occasion, racist.

Those men of the cloth who conducted unveilings also, for the most part, held senior positions within the religious hierarchy such as archbishop, bishop, and dean. Only two exceptions have been found in the instances under investigation – Reverends Abbott Roland Upcher, who unveiled at Framlingham, and George Thomas Piper Streeter who unveiled at Weymouth College. When clergy conducted commemoration ceremonies it was naturally to be expected that they would preach a sermon and most chose to construct what they would say from a text. Upcher, the rector of Halesworth, was amongst the six clergymen present at the Framlingham unveiling. His son, Abbott Winstanley Upcher, had been a lieutenant in the York and Lancaster Regiment, and involved in the South Africa war, so it may have been on that account that this particular cleric was the one nominated to preach.<sup>63</sup> Upcher took as his text the third verse of the second chapter of St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy,<sup>64</sup> and he reminded the boys of the important lessons of 'pluck and endurance, self-sacrifice, and discipline', which, he said, 'were the principles taught in public schools'.<sup>65</sup> The 'training of a school boy', the clergyman continued, 'was the preparing and equipment of the youth of our empire for the services of God and for the service of King and country'.<sup>66</sup> It was a straightforward message that the ten

<sup>62</sup> McLeod, H., (1996) *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd. p. 153.

<sup>63</sup> TNA, Anglo-Boer War records 1899-1902. Framlingham Register 145-146, Roll 200.

<sup>64</sup> 'Thou, therefore, endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ'.

<sup>65</sup> *Framlingham Weekly News* – Saturday 14 May 1904.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

alumni who had perished had been good soldiers of the church, the country, and the monarch, and a marker that boys still attending the school could anticipate leaving fully equipped, and expected, to follow in their predecessors' footsteps.

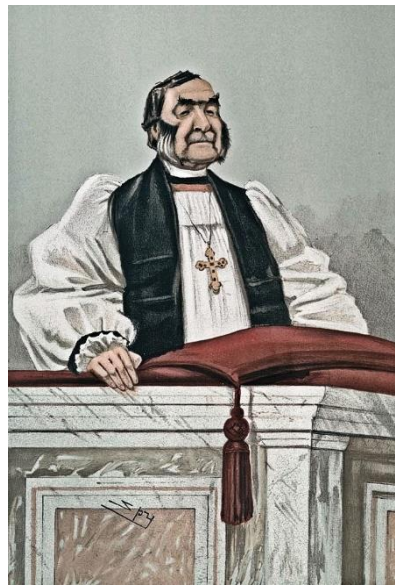
Randall Thomas Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury by the time he unveiled a monument and a privately-given window at Radley College, Abingdon, decided on part of a verse found in John I: 'this is the victory that overcometh the world, *even* our faith'.<sup>67</sup> Davidson told the congregation that there must always be progress and that it should move upward and from strength to strength. Two conditions were necessary for such improvement, an underlying principle, which he defined as faith, and the provision of something needed, which, in relation to the monument he was about to unveil, was the overcoming of whatsoever was unworthy.

The archbishop's remarks were meant to be taken as confirmation that the South African War had been righteous and that Christian faith was the means by which victory had been delivered. In the course of his reflections, Davidson also did not fail to praise the school. 'The public schools of England', he said, 'were the one institution which impressed a foreigner as being most characteristic'; 'it was grand' to be bound up with a great cathedral, as at Canterbury and Westminster, but more, rather than less, honour was due to William Sewell, who had founded Radley 'in the middle of the Victorian age', but with 'traditions at least 300 years old'.<sup>68</sup> Davidson's predecessor, Frederick Temple, had attended Blundell's School, Tiverton, as a pupil, and he

<sup>67</sup> *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments*. [Authorised King James Version] (undated) London: Collins, John I, chapter 5, verse 4, p.229. 'For whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, *even* our faith'.

<sup>68</sup> "School Speech Days." *Times* [London, England] 30 June 1904: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 22 Jan. 2016.

returned in 1900, as senior primate of the Church of England, to unveil a stained-glass window. Temple took his text from Corinthians I, the theme of which is many members, one body; so that if one suffers, all suffer, and if one rejoices, all rejoice.<sup>69</sup> The archbishop saw the school as a body of which past and present pupils were a part and he devoted his sermon to remind the listening boys ‘of the influence for bad or good that each scholar might have on the life of the school’.<sup>70</sup>



**Archbishop Frederick Temple from *Vanity Fair*, Sunday 9<sup>th</sup> November 1902, Caricaturist - Spy**  
**Source: Wikimedia Commons.**

No military guest was present on this occasion, so Temple himself addressed the assembled cadet corps and said that he was glad to see them looking smart, and desirous of upholding the past glory of their country. The Dean of Wells, Thomas William Jex-Blake, made a brief address, ‘since the day was very fully occupied’, during his unveiling of a window at Rugby, where he had been headmaster for thirteen

<sup>69</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Corinthians I, chapter 12, verse 26, p.169: ‘And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all members rejoice with it’ and verse 27 ‘Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular’.

<sup>70</sup> *Trewman’s Exeter Flying Post* – Saturday 6 October 1900.



years from 1874.<sup>71</sup> He did, however, find time to compliment the school by speculating that in the last moments of the men who died their thoughts had perhaps been of home, family and Rugby School.

The memorial at Bloxham was unveiled during Evensong on the school's All Saints' celebratory weekend and the preacher, The Warden of Keble College Oxford, Dr. Lock, used his sermon to inform the boys that they 'must be ready to endure pain', which, he said the five ex-pupils being commemorated had accepted because they could not fail to realise that their chosen profession meant 'the possibility of suffering, of wounds, of death'.<sup>72</sup> 'Clergy', too, The Warden explained, must accept 'the bitter pain of struggling with the sin of others' and seeing 'men turn away' from the clergy's 'message of redemption and salvation'.<sup>73</sup> Dr. Lock went on to remind the pupils that the qualities they should acquire at school were 'manliness', 'courage, openness and humility',<sup>74</sup> and the Provost, in thanking the preacher for his advice, commented that he felt sure it was 'just what the boys, young and old wanted'.<sup>75</sup> This preacher had delivered a very personal message which, following the headmaster's luncheon address, he went on to somewhat modify by saying that he had spoken about the hardships of clergymen, but not about the compensations. 'The hearty welcome he had received', Lock now observed, 'far out-weighed any trouble and hardship one might have had to endure'.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> "School Speech Days." *Times* [London, England] 27 June 1904: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 24 Jan. 2016.

<sup>72</sup> *Bloxhamist*, November 1904, vol. XXX, no. 290, p. 51.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Bloxhamist*, November 1904, vol. XXX, no. 290, p.52.

<sup>75</sup> *Bloxhamist*, November 1904, vol. XXX, no. 290, p.50.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

The Bishop of Chichester, Ernest Roland Wilberforce, preaching on the unveiling occasion at Eastbourne College, chose a traditional text from Timothy – ‘I have fought a good fight, I have finished *my* course, I have kept the faith’.<sup>77</sup> He paid tribute to the school and told the assembled pupils that they were not there so much to learn facts as to form a real, true, character. He urged the boys to note the words contained in Timothy, and to remember that the casualties being remembered had fought for a good cause. The text employed is primarily religious, meaning that the ‘good fight’ had been fought against sin although Wilberforce appropriated it in this case to justify military activity. But this Bishop had an even deeper message to deliver. Wilberforce was concerned that ‘millions upon millions of coloured men’ could acquire ‘arms of precision’; become ‘drilled and trained’ and, might eventually, ‘sweep every white man out of South Africa’.<sup>78</sup> He argued that those being remembered had enabled, what he termed ‘The Old Church of England’, to continue its civilising work in Africa, and his entreaty to the boys was to ‘teach by example and word’, whether as just a ‘soldier in the church militant’ or as one of those called upon to assist England ‘in the cruel arbitrament of war’.<sup>79</sup> The bishop obviously considered that the indigenous population of South Africa potentially posed a greater threat than the Boers, who, after all, were white, Christian, European settlers and might, in the bishop’s opinion be also under threat if Britain was unable to send missionaries out to the country to instruct, educate, enlighten and civilise.

The Bishop of London, Arthur Winnington-Ingram, was the unveiler at Harrow and he preached from Peter I, chapter three, verses ten and eleven, which urge those who

<sup>77</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Timothy II, chapter 4, verse 7, page 206.

<sup>78</sup> *Eastbourne Gazette* – 23 March 1904.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

love life, and see good days, to seek peace, and refrain from evil.<sup>80</sup> ‘There was no place in the world’, the Bishop declared, ‘where the love of life was stronger than at a public school’ and he went on to give examples of good days in the lives of a schoolboy, a politician, a soldier and a surgeon.<sup>81</sup> It was also a good day, the Right Reverend continued, when a young officer was called upon to lay down his life for his country and his school. The Bishop did not particularly elaborate as to why such a day could be considered good, but, according to Jeremy Morris, ‘he had an unquestioning trust in the civilizing mission of the British empire’.<sup>82</sup> It could possibly be, therefore, that, like his fellow bishop, Wilberforce, Winnington-Ingram felt that the fallen had ensured that church work in Africa could continue, with the result that the native population would become less likely to drive white settlers out of the country. Interestingly enough, the Boers, as staunch Calvinists, would also have seen themselves as a ‘Christian elect divinely ordained to rule the land and the backward natives therein’.<sup>83</sup> The South African Boers therefore shared some common, and frightening, ground with Wilberforce and Winnington-Ingram. The other interesting part of that latter bishop’s address is his reference to laying down a life for country and school. Winnington-Ingram was, himself, an old Marlburian, rather than an old Harrovian, but his view seems to have been that the values of public schools and the country were interchangeable and that if death resulted from the successful defence of either, it could be considered good. McLeod describes him as a fervent imperialist

<sup>80</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Peter I, chapter 3, verse 10, ‘For he that will love life, and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile;’ and verse 11, Let him eschew evil, and do good: let him seek peace, and ensue it.’

<sup>81</sup> “Founder’s Day At Harrow.” *Times* [London, England] 9 Oct. 1903: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 23 Jan. 2016.

<sup>82</sup> Jeremy Morris, ‘Ingram, Arthur Foley Winnington- (1858–1946)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36979, [accessed 24 Jan 2016].

<sup>83</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, [Online], Available https://www.britannica.com/topic/Boer-people, [accessed 16 August 2017].

who considered that his country was fighting for the freedom of the world.<sup>84</sup> Winnington-Ingram, and many of his clerical colleagues, were ethnocentric, believing that British cultural beliefs and values were superior to those of other communities and it was this conviction which enabled them to be supportive of military action whenever and wherever the empire was threatened. More important to other supporters of imperialism were economic and political considerations. Empire provided a wide and expanding market in which to sell and/or buy goods; an extended, and often cheap, labour pool; and, in the particular case of South Africa, access to valuable natural resources such as precious metals and stones as well as large tracts of land.

McLeod was quoted earlier in this chapter,<sup>85</sup> as remarking that the role of religion in early-twentieth-century education was diminishing but, perhaps because of the forceful personalities of the clergy discussed in this section, it seems to have occupied a central place in public/private schools of the period. Richard Mudie-Smith, in commenting on the *Daily News* religious census of 1902-1903, wrote that the outstanding lesson to be learned was that, whatever the results, the power of preaching was undiminished. 'Wherever there is the right man in the pulpit', he claimed, 'there are few, if any, empty pews'.<sup>86</sup> Clergy who preached at unveilings were anxious to ensure that the boys being addressed would be inspired to help fill those pews in future and they seem to have indeed been the right men for the job. Prosecution of the war was validated by the hymns often chosen for unveiling occasions, for example

<sup>84</sup> McLeod, H., (1996) *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd. p. 99.

<sup>85</sup> Page 268.

<sup>86</sup> Mudie-Smith, R., (1904) 'The Methods And Lessons Of The Census', in Mudie-Smith, R., (ed.), (1904) *The Religious Life Of London*, London: Hodder and Stoughton.

‘Onward Christian Soldiers’; ‘Fight The Good Fight’; ‘Soldiers Who Are Christ’s Below’; and ‘For All The Saints Who From Their Labours Rest’ – all of them triumphalist in both sound and sentiment. The prayers said at Rugby School, at the unveiling of its memorial window, typify the tone which clergy sought to bring to the proceedings and they are quoted below, in abbreviated form,<sup>87</sup> to convey how the men who died were remembered; how those still at the school were encouraged, and why those who unhesitatingly went to war were minded to do so:

We thank Thee for these our brothers who fought a good fight, endured hardship, and willingly offered their lives for their country’s sake.

Accept, we pray Thee, the memorial which this day we dedicate, that it may beautify the House of Thy Presence, and preserving the remembrance of their courage and devotion, may stir up others to follow in their steps.

May those who look upon [the window] realize the joy of faithful service, the shortness of earthly glory, and the power of an endless life.

The first decade of the twentieth century was a time when countries struggled against each other for supremacy, control and strategic advantage, ambitions made somewhat softer when coupled to the civilising mission promoted by the clergy and effectively communicated by them to boys during unveiling ceremonies. Other, non-military non-religious, personnel also contributed to the messages delivered at unveilings and they are the subject of the next section.

### *Unveilings by Other personnel*

Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb M.P., was the second person to perform a Boer War memorial ceremony at Charterhouse, the first being Major-General (as he was then) Baden-Powell, who laid the foundation stone for the cloister in which the

<sup>87</sup> “School Speech Days.” *Times* [London, England] 27 June 1904: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 31 Jan. 2016.

parliamentary member had now been invited to unveil two memorial tablets. Jebb had prepared his address on seventeen pages of House of Commons' notepaper and he spoke of the close community created within the school; of the loyalty it enjoyed; and of the pride which Carthusians felt at the parts played by their school-fellows in South Africa.<sup>88</sup>



**Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb from *Vanity Fair*, Thursday 20<sup>th</sup> October 1904,  
Caricaturist – Spy. Source: Wikimedia Commons.**

The unusual part of the speech, however, was the use of the adjective 'great', in relation to that conflict. In later years, the term 'great', when employed to refer to British armed combat, was reserved to describe World War I but Jebb brought it into play on three occasions in his oration, as an indication that this had been, for his generation, war of a kind, and scale, not experienced before. The impact of the second Boer War on men like Jebb has been overshadowed by the two world-wars of the twentieth century. His repeated use of the word 'great' on this unveiling occasion serves as a reminder of the Boer War's true impact on a generation which was part of

<sup>88</sup> CHA, 83/3/2, MS. of Sir Richard C. Jebb's speech at the unveiling of the Memorial Tablets in the South African Memorial Cloister, July 4th, 1903.

an empire unused to military attacks that could not be quickly repulsed and with a minimum loss of life.<sup>89</sup> The point can be strikingly reinforced by reference to an edition of Roedean School Magazine which described ‘Peace Day, June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1902’ as ‘the greatest day we had ever seen – probably the greatest that most of us would ever see’.<sup>90</sup>

No record of what was said at the unveiling of a memorial at Stamford School in Autumn 1903 has been found, but the event is worthy of a mention because of the identity of the unveiler. Henry Knott, a widowed grocer and corn dealer, was Mayor of Stamford at that time. Henry’s wife had died in 1890 and, in those circumstances, his daughter, Ethel Mary, had been appointed Lady Mayoress and was accompanying her father in the performance of his duties. It was actually Ethel who unveiled this memorial and she is the only female found by this study to perform such a task.<sup>91</sup> In this regard, she, along with the Misses Dottridge, Lowndes, and Gloag, mentioned in Chapter Four,<sup>92</sup> represent an approaching change in the social order. As with Stamford, no record appears to exist of the unveiling at Bradfield College by Blackall Simonds, a Justice of the Peace and former director, also partner, in a firm of brewers.<sup>93</sup> Simonds was the first boy entered in the books of Bradfield when he was admitted on Monday 4<sup>th</sup> February 1850; at that time there was yet no headmaster and young Blackall, being the solitary boy for some weeks, lived alone with a temporary

<sup>89</sup> ‘Great’ was also the adjective used by the Master of Marlborough, to describe the war, on the occasion of that school’s unveiling a few weeks earlier.

<sup>90</sup> *Roedean School Magazine*, Summer Term 1902, p. 123.

<sup>91</sup> *Stamfordian*, Christmas Term, 1903.

<sup>92</sup> Pages 235/236.

<sup>93</sup> TNA, 1901 England, Wales & Scotland Census, archive reference RG13, piece number 1141, folio 36, p.11.

tutor in the village.<sup>94</sup> He was an ideal choice to unveil the school's window and tablet on Monday 30<sup>th</sup> November 1903. Schools had a natural preference, as already noted, for past pupils to unveil memorials, for the reason that any success with which they may have met in their chosen careers, as well as in life generally, reflected well upon the school, and enhanced its reputation. In this case, the presence of Simonds demonstrated that from its very inception the school had been capable of turning out young men who could be successful in business and hold high office in the social order.

University College School, described as 'absolutely unsectarian'<sup>95</sup> by a sometime headmaster, managed to persuade Colonial Secretary, and Old Boy, Joseph Chamberlain to unveil a memorial tablet which had been affixed to the playground wall. In introducing Chamberlain, the headmaster noted that the institution was not a military school, yet his visitor had been greeted by a guard of honour composed of the school cadet corps. Chamberlain told those assembled that the twelve old boys who had lost their lives had done honour to the school by their patriotic devotion. 'All of them', he said, 'have left behind a good record of their school life, and now they have crowned their life by its sacrifice on behalf of their King and their country'.<sup>96</sup> The Colonial Secretary went on to observe that characters were fixed during school years and that the boys were heirs of a great empire and the citizens of no mean city. Chamberlain was heartily cheered throughout the proceedings and the school took

<sup>94</sup> "Obituary." *Times* [London, England] 2 Mar. 1905: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 25 Jan. 2016.

<sup>95</sup> Felkin, F.W., (1909) *From Gower Street To Frognal: A Short History Of University College School From 1830 to 1907*, (London: Arnold Fairbairns & Company Ltd.) pp.7-8, as already noted in Chapter Two, *Men Memorialised*, page 137.

<sup>96</sup> "Mr. Chamberlain At University College School." *Times* [London, England] 6 Nov. 1902: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 10 Mar. 2016.



obvious pride in the success of their past pupil. Other institutions to feel that same pride were Bradfield, Charterhouse, Rotherham Grammar, Marlborough, Rugby, Manchester Grammar, Sedbergh and Blundell's where individuals who had met with success in their chosen careers performed unveiling ceremonies at their old school.

King Edward VII carried out two of the unveilings being discussed, Eton and Winchester, although the ceremony at the former is better described as an opening in view of the fact that the memorial comprised a great hall, capable of containing all pupils and staff of the school, a library and a museum. The King, who had arrived with a large entourage from nearby Windsor Castle, was glad to think that three of his nephews had been educated at the school and he told the assembled boys that they had the opportunity to leave Eton 'trained in the knowledge and accomplishments of English gentlemen, and disciplined to the self-restraint, the consideration for others, and the loyal acceptance of private and public duties which are the ideals of our race'.<sup>97</sup> The King made no similar speech at Winchester, perhaps because, as noted earlier, the main purpose of his visit seems to have been to declare open a new hall, or perhaps because many complimentary remarks had already been paid to the college in a preceding address by the Duke of Connaught. Instead, His Majesty read the words inscribed on the memorial preceding them with 'To the glory of God' and following with 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen'.<sup>98</sup> *The Times*, in an effort to allay any public fears as to the King's health, reported that the words were spoken in a very clear and distinct voice. Edward was known to be a lifelong, and fairly heavy, cigarette and cigar smoker, who also suffered from

<sup>97</sup> "Court Circular." *Times* [London, England] 19 Nov. 1908: 13. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 24 Jan. 2016.

<sup>98</sup> "The King And Queen At Wellington College." *Times* [London, England] 18 June 1907: 12. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 25 Jan. 2016.

bronchitis, and, whilst a causal connection was not recognised at the time, the king's health was a matter of public interest and the reference would not, therefore, have gone unnoticed.

### *Loyalty relationship*

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the mood of the time was one of God, King, and Country, and it is appropriate at this juncture to consider an example of how schoolboys were encouraged to show loyalty to the monarch and how such allegiance could be coupled to religious belief. Edward VII's coronation was originally scheduled for Saturday 28<sup>th</sup> June 1902, but two days earlier he had been diagnosed with appendicitis, too late for the authorities at Canterbury Cathedral to undo arrangements made to invite about 700 public school boys to a special service on that day. Accordingly, boys from four Canterbury schools, and seven further afield, arrived to hear the Reverend Arthur John Galpin, headmaster of the King's School, preach a sermon using, as his text, part of a verse from the first epistle of St. Peter – Honour the King.<sup>99</sup> The institutions from which the boys came had taught them, the preacher said, the principles of 'loyalty to school' and 'loyalty to God', but, as they 'grew older', and took an interest in politics, 'God would call them to play a man's part' and it would then be time 'to lay to heart the third principle of conduct "Honour the King", loyalty to the English throne'.<sup>100</sup> Having delivered his message, the preacher sat down, and the assembled boys sang the national anthem with gusto. Apart from being the intended day for Edward's coronation, this Saturday was exactly four weeks into the armistice, so the war would have been very fresh in the boys' minds.

<sup>99</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Peter I, chapter 2, verse 17, page 222. 'Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king'.

<sup>100</sup> *Canterbury Journal, Kentish Times and Farmers' Gazette* – Saturday 28 June 1902.

It was an appropriate time to remind them of what the conflict had been about and to lay a marker of what was expected from them in the future.

Loyalty to the crown was very evident at Rotherham Grammar School where Colin M. Smith, a local solicitor, unveiled a tablet commemorating twelve old boys who had returned from war and two who had not. As the Union Jack, which had hidden the tablet, was drawn aside, the Rotherham Borough Band played God Save The King. The letters V.R. and E.R.<sup>101</sup> were then seen to be carved on either side of the memorial and part of the inscription read ‘this tablet is here placed to commemorate the patriotic devotion of the undermentioned old boys who served their country in the Boer War’.<sup>102</sup>

The plaque at Gordon Boys’ School carried two Union Jack depictions above the names of the fourteen ex-pupils who had lost their lives. No official unveiling appears to have been reported in this instance but, had it done so, it seems likely that these boys would have been encouraged, even more than most, toward a military career. A Gordons’ sermon, designed to raise funds for the school took place at Sandringham on Sunday 17<sup>th</sup> January 1904 during which the Bishop of Thetford told the King, Queen, and other members of the Royal Family, that the institution’s purpose ‘was to fire the Gordon boys with the desire to be true English soldiers and sailors’, although he did add ‘or to walk those quieter paths of citizen life’.<sup>103</sup> The Bishop also revealed that the school’s mission was ‘to undertake the conversion of the hooligan’, so it was

<sup>101</sup> Victoria Regina and Edwardus Rex.

<sup>102</sup> *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* – Thursday 28 July 1904.

<sup>103</sup> “Naval & Military Intelligence.” *Times* [London, England] 18 Jan. 1904: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.

presumably felt that encouragement toward a military career was an effective way of achieving that particular aim.<sup>104</sup>

Perhaps the strangest set of comments delivered at an unveiling and prize-giving occasion was made by Winston Churchill when he attended Epsom College, on the institution's 1903 speech-day. Having congratulated the school on its long list of successes, the parliamentary member went on to say that it was a great thing to be a 'swell' at school and that pupils 'would have to go a long way through the world before they could achieve such complete autocracy again'.<sup>105</sup> Mr Churchill then told the boys that those who:

were not swells must not accept as final the verdict and estimate of schooldays, for in the world the swells would have to struggle to maintain their pre-eminence and the others should remember that there was room for all, and a chance for all to attain pre-eminence.<sup>106</sup>

OED defines the word 'swell', in the 'transferred sense', as 'one who is distinguished or eminent in achievement; one who is very clever or good *at* something', so, whilst Churchill's meaning is somewhat unclear, because of more modern meanings being attached to the word, he seems to have meant that boys who did not excel at school, might do so in later life. He was also perhaps indicating that, in particular, the ten alumni who had died should be seen as good examples of the word in its 'transferred' definition.

<sup>104</sup> *Nottingham Evening Post* – Monday 18 January 1904.

<sup>105</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* – Monday 27 July 1903.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

### *Conclusion*

In the process of issuing invitations to those who would unveil memorials and address pupils, schools were anxious to draw from a pool of military role models; inspiring clergy, well-known figures and successful old boys. In several instances it proved possible, much to the obvious delight of the school, to combine more than one attribute in a single individual. It has been shown that military leaders spoke with one voice at unveiling ceremonies to encourage schools and students to engage in soldierly drill, to learn discipline, and to be practiced in the use of arms. That voice was fashioned, in my view, by Lord Roberts who, even during the South African War, became concerned that there was a deterioration in the physical fitness of the country's youth and that Britain would be left defenceless at home in the event that officers and troops were called to a theatre of war on foreign soil. Roberts, first as Commander-in-Chief of the British Army and later as President of the National Service League, kept himself well abreast of military affairs, even after leaving official office, and, through his contributions in the House of Lords, his various addresses, and his constant tour around the country to attend functions, unveilings and ceremonials, had the opportunity to meet other military men, discuss his concerns and persuade them to support his message of preparedness.

Clergymen, too, spoke with a single voice, and always in support of their military counterparts, often linking defence of the country to defence of the church and the particular ethos of the public/private, and, in the case of the Bishop of Thetford and Gordons', the private, school. Men of the cloth concentrated on the character values which a boy might acquire at school, even judged by Wilberforce to be more important than such traditional educational subjects as reading, writing and arithmetic.

The various unveilers seem, from appreciative comments made on their speeches by headmasters, to have satisfactorily endorsed each school and recommended it to their audience. Those who were, or had been, members of the military also undoubtedly struck the desired chord with the boys. In the years 1900 through 1914 forty-six of the institutions in this study introduced Cadet Corps whilst many more reinvigorated Corps established before the 1899 outbreak of war. Clergy also played a role in the increasing military training in schools by supporting participation in war as a valid means of preserving British values and perspectives in South Africa. In the area of religious belief the tide, in the country as a whole, was turning against them for reasons of doubt, a weakening of social role, and a general growth in class-consciousness and political militancy.<sup>107</sup> In schools, however, clergy played a strong part in unveiling ceremonies and, whilst there is no way of telling if their audiences tended toward doubt or belief, the messages delivered by clergy seem to have been, at least, enthusiastically received.

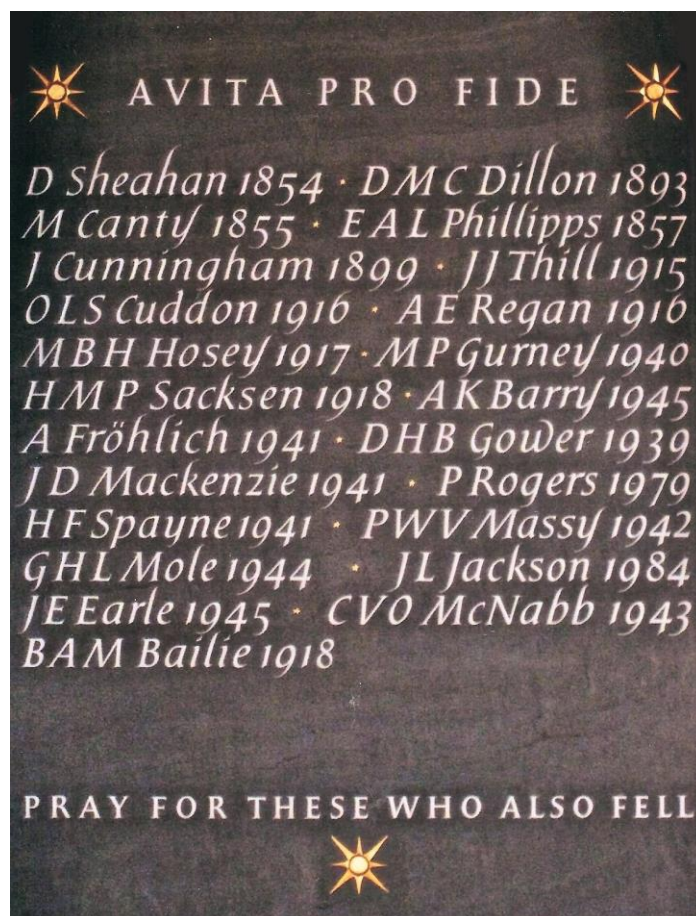
This present chapter opened with an analysis of the atmosphere prevailing at school Boer War unveilings and it has been shown that, in many cases, commemoration was an understated element of celebratory events such as prize-giving or the marking of a special day in a school's calendar. Solemn occasion was frequently combined with festivity whilst, at the same time, military men and clergy dovetailed their messages and were at pains to support the ethos of the school. It all added up to a seamless mix of duty, sacrifice, recognition and celebration; a mix which lodged itself in the memory of those involved and which might go some way toward understanding the mentality

<sup>107</sup> McLeod, H., (1996) *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd.

of ex-public/private- or ex-private-school men who were to volunteer themselves for service in the Great War, only a short few years later. It is to a comparison between commemoration of the South African War of 1899-1902 and the Great War of 1914-1918 that this thesis will turn in Chapter Six

# Chapter Six

## *The Future of Commemoration*



St. Edmund's College & Prep School, Ware, Hertfordshire  
Unveiling Ceremony performed on Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> October 2013

Photographed with the permission of the Headmaster, Mr Paulo Durán BA MA



## *Chapter Six – The Future of Commemoration*

### *Introduction*

The total number of deaths on the British side in the fight against the Boers amounted to 20,766 and this figure included all those who were killed in action or who died of wounds or disease.<sup>1</sup> It also took into account men serving in Colonial Contingents, civil surgeons, and those who were civilians in military employment. The number of dead in both the South African War and the Great War have been discovered in respect of 138 of the schools covered in this study and the figures are 1,172, in the South African War, and 26,301 in the Great War. The number of lives lost in WWI across just 138 schools, therefore, exceeded the *total* Boer War loss suffered by Britain, *and* her supporters throughout the Empire, by well over 26% – a truly staggering and arresting statistic, and one which strikingly illustrates the tragedy of the Great War.

Details regarding the design, construction and unveiling of memorials in many of these schools are known for both the Boer War and World War I and this present chapter will compare and contrast those details. A comparative case study of Eton College will be presented following which the section will widen its analysis by working through types of commemorative object; those who performed the unveiling ceremonies; speech content; unveiling dates; and those who designed and created the memorials, prior to arriving at a subdivision which will summarise conclusions. In between dates and designers, particular mention will be made of memorials featuring St. George, the patron saint of England and of soldiers, as that figure was especially prominent in First World War remembrance in schools. In advance of all those

<sup>1</sup> Gildea, J., (1911) *For Remembrance And In Honour Of Those Who Lost Their Lives In The South African War 1899-1902*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode Ltd. p.v.

discussions on Eton and other schools, however, two background aspects to commemoration, viz. national frame of mind and a professional view of memorialisation, will be considered in order to determine how the atmosphere of the time might have been expected to influence the events which followed. First though, a comment on the argument contained in the chapter.

Despite the overall assertion of continuity, this chapter will note that the sheer scale of loss in WWI resulted in some differences, in schools, between 1920s commemoration and that which took place in the first decade of the twentieth century. Religious belief and observance were, generally throughout the country, in a period of decline, but throughout the institutions discussed clergy played a greater role in WWI unveiling ceremonies. A stronger need for consolation may have been a factor, but the overall mood was darker and, as feelings of sacrifice and duty were pronounced in schools, clergy, keen to halt decline wherever it might be found, were called upon to reinforce such notions. Scale of loss also dictated that commemorative forms would change. Monuments became more popular as did improvements to school facilities and the building of utilities. Stained-glass and tablets declined whilst a new category, educational funds, entered the list of commemorative expressions available. Searches for a positive legacy from the huge loss of life accounted for improvements, utilities and funds whilst the practical problems of portraying total war in narrative form and the listing of so many, many, names explain the shift away from glass and tablets. For some, the symbolic language of monuments became the only way in which such colossal loss could be expressed.

### *National frame of mind*

In this section, the mood of the country in the immediate days following the Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> May 1902 Boer War armistice, and the Monday 11<sup>th</sup> November 1918 Great War armistice will be examined and compared, mainly by reference to *Hansard* and comment appearing in *The Times* as both sources were consistent in delivering relevant material following each cessation of hostilities.

The House of Commons met at two o'clock on the afternoon of Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1902; terms of agreement to terminate the war in South Africa having been agreed and signed the previous Saturday night, 31<sup>st</sup> May. Arthur Balfour, at that time First Lord of the Treasury,<sup>2</sup> read the terms of surrender to the House but he refrained from making any comment or expressing whatever feelings he may have had on the termination of military action. It was left to opposition leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, to comment that the news would 'cause the most profound and universal satisfaction, not only at home, but within the whole wide bounds of the Empire'.<sup>3</sup> It would, Campbell-Bannerman continued, 'bring ease to many an anxious, aching heart ... give rest to many who [had] served the King in all ranks'; and 'relieve the [country's] power and resources of a strain which [it had] proved to be well able to bear'. The opposition leader had, almost a year previously, alleged that the war was being 'carried on by methods of barbarism' and, in the same speech, he hoped and believed that every Englishman desired to see the Boers as friends.<sup>4</sup> Following up on those sentiments Campbell-Bannerman now made the following statement, aimed at promoting

<sup>2</sup> Balfour was the last person to hold the title First Lord of the Treasury without being Prime Minister as well. He was to become Prime Minister the following month.

<sup>3</sup> House of Commons Hansard. Volume Title: Fourth Series, Volume 108, Page Column 1089-1224, Regnal Year: Edward VII year 2.

<sup>4</sup> "Dinner To Liberal Leaders." *Times* [London, England] 15 June 1901: 12. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 7 May 2018.

immediate feelings of reconciliation between Britain and her, now unfragmented, colony in South Africa:

I am sure that I can go further, and say that we are unanimous in our admiration of those who up to now have been our enemies, and who now are our friends and fellow-citizens, whose military qualities, whose tenacity of purpose and self-sacrificing devotion to liberty and country, have won for them the respect of the whole world, and foremost of all the respect of us who have been their opponents.<sup>5</sup>

The First Lord was then asked if he would consent to an adjournment of the House until the following morning, but Balfour replied that it was quite impossible to entertain such a proposal as to suspend the business of the country would not be a judicious way to conduct a celebration. Another parliamentary member asked if there was any intention on the part of the Government to hold a Thanksgiving Day for the cessation of the war, but the Speaker ruled that the time for questions had expired and, in the absence of notice, the enquiry could not be allowed. The House then went on to discuss topics as diverse as the 'Speed of Mail Steamers to the East' and 'Tenement Rents in Dublin' before adjourning at ten minutes to midnight.<sup>6</sup>

*The Times*, in its reflection on the war, was of the opinion that it had brought the nation and the empire closer together than ever before, knitted by firm bonds under the Union Jack. Each side engaged in the conflict, the paper asserted, had come to realise the possibilities of the great Imperial mission, a mission which could now be prosecuted with renewed spirit, both parties being 'younger in the consciousness of our might and younger in our hopes than when the brave foes we now welcome as fellow-subjects forced [the war] upon us'.<sup>7</sup> Less than sixteen-and-a-half years later, at the conclusion

<sup>5</sup> House of Commons Hansard. Volume Title: Fourth Series, Volume 108, Page Column 1089-1224, Regnal Year: Edward VII year 2.

<sup>6</sup> House of Commons Hansard. Volume Title: Fourth Series, Volume 108, Page Column 1089-1224, Regnal Year: Edward VII year 2.

<sup>7</sup> "The end for which we have striven during two." *Times* [London, England] 2 June 1902: 11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 May 2016.

of WWI, the 1902 conciliatory and business-as-usual mood in both parliament and *The Times* would be completely different as demonstrated below.

The Commons met at a quarter to three o'clock on the afternoon of Monday 11<sup>th</sup> November 1918 and Prime Minister Lloyd George announced, 'in a voice broken with emotion',<sup>8</sup> that an armistice had been signed at five that morning under which 'cessation of operations by land and in the air' would come into effect six hours later.<sup>9</sup> Having delivered his statement, Lloyd George moved that the House immediately adjourn and that its members proceed to 'St. Margaret's [Westminster Abbey] to give humble and reverent thanks for the deliverance of the world from its great peril'.<sup>10</sup> Opposition leader Herbert Henry Asquith agreed with the Prime Minister's motion as 'the only one which is consonant with our feelings and with those of the country and the Empire' and the House duly suspended its proceedings.<sup>11</sup> *Hansard* recorded the adjournment time at seventeen minutes past three so members had been in session for thirty-two minutes only. The parliamentarians then filed out through St. Stephen's Hall in procession behind the Speaker and, joined by members of the House of Lords, led by the Lord Chancellor, they proceeded to a liturgy reported as being one of 'thanksgiving', 'humble supplication and radiant gratitude'.<sup>12</sup> That same afternoon a crowded service took place at St. Paul's Cathedral and throughout the country churches 'were filled to overflowing' at 'hurriedly arranged' ceremonies, all focusing

<sup>8</sup> "At Westminster." *Times* [London, England] 12 Nov. 1918: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 May 2016.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> "At Westminster." *Times* [London, England] 12 Nov. 1918: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 May 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

on the same themes as those observed at St. Margaret's.<sup>13</sup> 'Our enemy is laid low' announced *The Times*, 'and we stand ... higher than we have ever stood before': the country had been filled with 'a loathing and a righteous indignation' which would not readily pass away, the publication continued, citing as its cause the 'inexpiable brutalities' which Germany had perpetrated and 'against which no classes of her people [had] dared to protest'.<sup>14</sup> The enemy had been 'false and cruel' and must therefore 'bear the penalty in our mistrust and in our abhorrence'.<sup>15</sup> These sentiments were amplified elsewhere in the paper with the words:

We remember that all Germany gave her full assent to the war which has bathed the world in blood and tears for four years, and that it is failure alone which now leads her to abjure it. We shall do no wrong, but we will abandon no right. Justice must be satisfied and justice demands a stern reckoning for guilt so deliberate, so obdurate, and so great.<sup>16</sup>

Sir Eric Campbell Geddes put the sentiment rather more bluntly in a speech delivered exactly one month after the armistice wherein he remarked that Britain would be 'squeezing Germany like a lemon until the pips squeak'.<sup>17</sup> The evangelical *British Weekly* was even more forthright as it 'greeted the Armistice' with the headline, 'Beholding the fallen Satan'.<sup>18</sup>

In the case of termination of the Boer War then, Balfour showed no emotion when delivering news of the armistice; parliamentary business carried on as normal; no immediate thanksgiving was initiated by government; and Campbell-Bannerman,

<sup>13</sup> "Welcoming The News." *Times* [London, England] 12 Nov. 1918: 9+. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 30 Apr. 2016.

<sup>14</sup> "Our First Duty." *Times* [London, England] 12 Nov. 1918: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 30 Apr. 2016.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> "The Downfall." *Times* [London, England] 11 Nov. 1918: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 2 May 2016.

<sup>17</sup> ERIC GEDDES. "'Until The Pips Squeak'." *Times* [London, England] 15 Dec. 1933: 15. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 10 Aug. 2016.

<sup>18</sup> Brown, C.G., (2006) *Religion And Society In Twentieth-century Britain*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited. p. 106.

together with *The Times*, sought to reunite Britain and South Africa under the national flag. At the termination of WWI Lloyd George was choked with emotion; all parliamentary business was suspended in favour of thanksgiving; *The Times*, striking a triumphant note, placed the blame on the population of Germany as a whole, and demanded they be held to account, whilst Geddes sought to satisfy public demand for redress in his colourful choice of metaphor. The selection of language employed by the parliamentarians contributed to the immediate post-war moods, Balfour choosing the single word ‘celebration’ and Lloyd George the phrase ‘humble and reverent thanks for the deliverance’.

Alex King points out that the term ‘great sacrifice’ had changed meaning during WWI and now ‘came to refer in most people’s minds to the supposedly willing and generous laying down of their lives by soldiers in defence of their country and their ideals’.<sup>19</sup> He goes on to state that the conflict was often justified as a ‘purgative blood-sacrifice which would cleanse the world not only of political, but also of social and moral evil’.<sup>20</sup> Charles Frederic Kernot reminds his readers that WWI was the ‘greatest in its horror and scientific methods’; that ‘before it air raids were unknown’; ‘submarine warfare on merchant and hospital ships was inconceivable’, and poison gas had never before been used.<sup>21</sup> Other writers describe the event as catastrophic and unprecedented whilst, for many, its ghastliness was best conveyed in the idea that a generation had been wiped out. The sheer scale, and distinctive nature, of the agony of WWI largely accounts for the difference in reaction to its cessation. It was quite different to the South African War. Almost every family in the land experienced the death, or injury,

<sup>19</sup> King, A., (1998) *Memorials Of The Great War In Britain: The Symbolism And Politics of Remembrance*, Oxford: Berg, an imprint of Oxford International Publishers Ltd. p.129.

<sup>20</sup> King, A., *Memorials Of The Great War In Britain*, 129.

<sup>21</sup> Kernot, C.F., (1927) *British Public Schools War Memorials*, London: Roberts & Newton Limited. p.5.

of a close relative. Hostilities were on Britain's doorstep rather than six thousand miles away. Germany, and its leader, were seen as evil whereas the Boers were merely troublesome and the feeling that their cause was unjust was not held by everyone. Britain's relationship with each set of opponents was also quite different, as set out in the following paragraph.

The South African rebel republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State had previously been a firm part of empire and therefore within the British family of nations. Their attempt to break away could be seen as a family squabble and, as is the way with families, once the dispute had been settled, even though in this case by brute military force, other family members would be keen to keep those whom they regarded as kinsfolk within the fold and thus preserve the family/empire unit. The German Emperor was family in the sense that he was a grandchild of Queen Victoria, nephew of Edward VII and first cousin to King George V, but Germany itself was not within the British family of nations so there was no relationship to be at pains to preserve. It was consequently inevitable that, quite apart from the deep feelings of loathing, the conquering of German aggression should precipitate a different set of emotions to those experienced at the defeat of opponents in South Africa. In the wake of all those emotional sentiments, Jay Winter observes that 'both religious and lay communities devoted themselves to the task of commemoration'.<sup>22</sup> In that task, they were offered advice on the making of memorial choices, as demonstrated under the following sub-heading.

<sup>22</sup> Winter, J., (1995) *Sites Of Memory, Sites Of Mourning: The Great War In European Cultural History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.85.



### *A professional view of memorialisation*

Lawrence Walter William Weaver was introduced in Chapter Four as an architectural writer and self-appointed arbiter of taste who alleged that there was an exceeding poverty of memorial design in Boer War commemoration. The chapter, having found a variety of design which it considered good, argued that this was not the case. Weaver became the architectural editor of *Country Life* in 1910 and five years later a book, by means of which he sought to influence WWI memorialisation, and from which his ‘exceeding poverty’ remark was extracted, was published at the premises of the magazine. Issued simultaneously with Weaver’s opus was another by the reverend Ernest Hermitage-Day which partly shared the same title, although both publishers, A.R. Mowbray and George Newnes, were keen to point out, in a similarly worded *Note* at the beginning of each volume, that the two works did not compete.<sup>23</sup>

The publications by Weaver and Hermitage-Day are the subject of this current section. Weaver was, in the words of his grandson, ‘one of the foremost writers on British architecture and allied arts of his time’,<sup>24</sup> and in 1915 he, Lawrence senior, turned his attention to publishing examples of, in his own view, good memorial art, with the intention of providing guidance as to ‘proportion, use of materials, spacing of letters and the like’.<sup>25</sup> Weaver cited three sources of supply in existence at that time – monumental masons, who, he alleged were incompetent in their craftsmanship; shops

<sup>23</sup> Hermitage-Day, E., (1915) *The Arts Of The Church: Monuments And Memorials*, London: A.R. Mowbray & Co Ltd and Weaver, L., (1915) *Memorials And Monuments Old And New: Two Hundred Subjects Chosen From Seven Centuries*, London: Published at the offices of “Country Life” by George Newnes Ltd.

<sup>24</sup> Weaver, L.T., (1989) *Lawrence Weaver 1876-1930, An Annotated Bibliography*, York: Inch’s Books, frontispiece.

<sup>25</sup> Weaver, L., (1915) *Memorials And Monuments Old And New: Two Hundred Subjects Chosen From Seven Centuries*, London: Published at the offices of “Country Life” by George Newnes Ltd. p.2.

which provided stereotype marble monuments, and clerical tailors who sold dreary engraved brasses. All three sources, he somewhat hyperbolically concluded, had added a new terror to death. Weaver correctly forecast that on the return of peace there would be ‘scarcely a church, or chapel, or school, or village hall which will lack records of those “who held not their lives dear”’, and it was his hope that memorials should be worthy of the men and of the occasion.<sup>26</sup> He acknowledged that buildings which provide a usefulness; scholarships founded in the name of a person deceased; and adornments to existing structures, such as chancel screens and stained-glass windows, all had a place in memorialisation but, for him, some monument which served no purpose other than remembrance was often called for when paying homage to gallant deeds. Weaver was educated at Clifton College, Bristol, whose statue of St. George, pictured at the head of Chapter Five, provided him with perfect example of such a memorial and quite possibly influenced his future view.

Hermitage-Day, in much the same vein as Weaver, warned of the dangers of those ‘memorial tablets which appear in ... catalogues’ and the firms ‘who ... content themselves with repeating mechanically those frigid types of design which are the stock-in-trade of their offices’.<sup>27</sup> He regarded brass as an intractable material, preferring instead bronze or gun-metal. He also expressed the opinion that a brass plate erected ‘to the glory of GOD’, in circumstances where there is no other memorial in the vicinity, ‘is really mendacious’.<sup>28</sup> By this comment Hermitage-Day is taken to mean that a window, or similar, is erected to glorify God whereas a plate, unaccompanied by an object of glorification, is merely recording an event or a name.

<sup>26</sup> Weaver, *Memorials And Monuments*, 3.

<sup>27</sup> Hermitage-Day, E., (1915) *The Arts Of The Church: Monuments And Memorials*, London: A.R. Mowbray & Co Ltd. pp. xii and 138.

<sup>28</sup> Hermitage-Day, E., *The Arts Of The Church*, 149.

It is more difficult to interpret the meaning of his ‘intractable’ comment as brass is usually a malleable metal, although sometimes made stronger, and therefore more intractable, by varying the proportions of its copper and zinc content.

In contrast to Weaver, Hermitage-Day regarded objects which supplied something of use to churches and chapels as being the best kind of memorial and he picked out for particular mention reredoses, rood-lofts, screens, stalls, lecterns and stained-glass windows. There was consequently no shortage of advice to those with the responsibility to recommend what kind of memorial should be erected to their Great War dead and it covered topics ranging from statuary to lettering.

Any assessment of the resulting quality of craftsmanship demonstrated in memorial art is beyond the scope of this thesis but the types of school memorial which appeared in the wake of both the Boer and Great wars will shortly be considered, and any similarities or differences highlighted. Before doing so, however, the following comparative case study of Eton College will also help determine the change of mood, in public/private schools, between the Boer and Great wars.

### *Eton College comparative case study*

Eton was particularly discussed in Chapter Three under the heading *Headmasters in Control* but by the time WWI commemoration was being considered, control, in this and other school cases, had firmly moved in a more democratic direction. Eton appointed a Council comprising six members nominated by the College, eighteen by a general meeting of Etonians held on Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup> February 1917, and one supernumerary (ex officio), that latter individual being the headmaster. The group

first met in the Jerusalem Chamber, at the Dean of Westminster's official residence, on Tuesday 27<sup>th</sup> March 1917, when it appointed members to four sub-committees – financial, memorial, constitution, and selection. Honorary-treasurer Francis Nathaniel Curzon, a stockbroker by profession,<sup>29</sup> reported that contributions to a recently opened memorial fund, 'paid or promised' to date, 'amounted to £107,500'.<sup>30</sup> Chairman Lord Parker of Waddington announced that the main purpose of the fund was for 'the relief of the families of Old Etonians fallen in or incapacitated by the War'.<sup>31</sup> Bearing that announcement in mind, it was unanimously agreed that 'it be an instruction to the Memorial Committee to report on the footing of an expenditure not exceeding £10,000'.<sup>32</sup> The first meeting of that latter committee took place at the Belgrave Square home of Viscount Harcourt, its chairman, on Friday 27<sup>th</sup> April 1917. Arthur Ainger, who, it will be recalled, had acted as permanent secretary to Eton's Boer War committee, suggested providing the school hall with an organ, but a letter from Lord Rosebery was read in which he stated: 'I hope the memorial will not take the form of any addition or ornament to the existing war memorial, which would be very inadequate for the purpose and ... very unwelcome to the subscribers'.<sup>33</sup>

Over the course of the next few months various memorial suggestions were advanced, for example an 'Eleanor Cross',<sup>34</sup> and a Commemorative 'Tower',<sup>35</sup> whilst numerous views on design were expressed. The Duke of Newcastle thought that 'elaborate sculpture [was] better understood in France' and that once 'schemes had been reduced

<sup>29</sup> TNA, 1911 Census for England and Wales, census reference RG14PN422 RG78PN14 RD5 ED8 SN61.

<sup>30</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.2.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.9.

<sup>34</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.51.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p.70.

to two or three in number designs should be invited from various architects, not necessarily Etonians or even Englishmen'.<sup>36</sup> Harcourt too liked the idea of foreign influence, 'instancing particularly', as an addition to the chapel, 'a pulpit that he had seen abroad'.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, such small sums as were later expended on possible designs were all made locally. Lord Rosebery had correctly gauged the mood. His comment, made at the February 1917 General Meeting, 'I hope we shall not build a hall of any kind',<sup>38</sup> had met with applause as had a statement by The Marquis of Lansdowne who remarked – 'I should like to rule out altogether such proposals as buildings for laboratories, swimming baths, gymnasium (sic), or playing fields'.<sup>39</sup> Also, 'Members of the Council, and others', were 'known' to hold a 'strong objection' to 'expenditure on anything connected with the School Hall',<sup>40</sup> whilst *Eton College Chronicle* reported that from an early stage the idea had been that the memorial 'should be educational rather than architectural.'<sup>41</sup>

Some minor memorial items *were* approved and subsequently came into being; for example, a book in which the names of the fallen were written in 'letters of gold'<sup>42</sup> and a stained-glass window for the 'North Chapel', at a cost of '250 guineas'.<sup>43</sup> The main memorial, however, was recommended to be either a bronze frieze, to be erected at the school entrance, or else a series of frescoes, to be painted in the chapel. The headmaster elicited opinion on these options from the other Eton masters and reported his findings to a committee meeting held at his home on Tuesday 15<sup>th</sup> July 1918. Six

<sup>36</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.10.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 1604, Tuesday, 13 March 1917, p.186

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp.186-187.

<sup>40</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.52.

<sup>41</sup> *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 1604, Tuesday, 13 March 1917, p.185.

<sup>42</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.51.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p.61.

masters were in favour of the frieze, two with reservations, but twenty-five were against. Two were in favour of frescoes, but twenty-seven were against. Interestingly, however, only twenty-three masters voted in respect of either proposal, whilst an additional eight voted (two for, six against) the frieze, and an additional six (one for, five against) the frescoes. A total of thirty-seven masters therefore cast an opinion, only seven of whom favoured one or other of the proposals and, as less than two-thirds voted on both, a certain apathy amongst the teaching staff is apparent.

The memorial committee eventually unanimously preferred the frieze, ‘saving for some doubt on the part of the Headmaster’, and that indeed became the main WWI Eton memorial.<sup>44</sup> Harcourt reported to a committee meeting, held at his residence on Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> January 1918, that there was ‘a strong and almost unanimous feeling at Eton for some further treatment of the School Hall, such as the provision of an organ or in other ways’ but the masters, headmaster included, were out of step with the views of Old Etonians, and the memorial committee. In contrast to the situation a decade-and-a-half earlier, when the personality of headmaster Warre had won the day, memorial decisions were now made on a much more democratic basis.<sup>45</sup> The College had also, this time around, avoided any publicly-aired squabble over memorial form and had raised a much higher level of funding more quickly and easily than before. The Eton Council was to set up an additional sub-committee, named Surplus, and its first meeting took place on Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> May 1920. By Friday 30<sup>th</sup> April 1937 the fund totalled £193,017 and was in surplus to the tune of £68,997, having expended £95,620 on bursaries, £3,400 on expenses and £25,000 on memorials, indicating that

<sup>44</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.102.

<sup>45</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.61.

almost 80% of the expenditure to date had indeed been made for the purpose originally intended.

From a very early stage, the mood amongst committee members and alumni was that funds be used to educate the sons of those Old Etonians who had died. The tradition of past Eton pupils sending their son(s) to the same institution was therefore preserved and any financial burden caused to families by the war, alleviated. There was, however, a difference of fund-allocation opinion between the committee-members/alumni and the Eton masters/headmaster who preferred to have more of the collected funds spent on improvements to the college, particularly the school hall. The interest-priority of the masters was therefore the college itself rather than the bereaved families but, in the event, their preferences were drowned by a wider body of opinion. As previously noted,<sup>46</sup> Eton's early twentieth-century headmaster, Edmond Warre, engineered a democratic process to realise an improvement to the school as a memorial for the Boer War. The process for the WWI memorial, however, was truly democratic as the decisions were made by groups of men working through committees rather than by one man imposing his strong will upon others. At other schools, the chosen form of memorial was only in small part educational, in the Eton sense, as will be shown in the following section.

### *Categories of Memorial and of those who unveiled them*

This segment will provide statistical comparisons between Boer and WWI memorials, and their unveilers, and comment on the differences and similarities. It will show that simple tablets gave way to more elaborate objects; that memorials generally became

<sup>46</sup> Chapter Three, *Memorial Commissioning Process*, pages 163/165.

utilitarian, despite a parallel increase in those serving no practical purpose; and that funding of education, absent in Boer commemoration, began to play a part. The categories of unveiler will be shown to be broadly the same, military decreasing slightly, clergy increasing slightly, and royalty/nobility remaining constant.

### *Memorials*

The following apt phrase is quoted to demonstrate what memorial builders were endeavouring to build into their creations. Lady Laura Elizabeth Ridding was a suffragist and philanthropist, the widow of the Reverend Dr. George Ridding, headmaster of Winchester College at the time of their marriage in 1876. When Winchester unveiled its WWI cloister in 1924 she was credited with the quotation which appears overleaf, although the words are actually those of John Ruskin.<sup>47</sup>

There are two strong conquerors of the forgetfulness of men – poetry and architecture and the latter in some sort includes the former and is mightier in its reality.<sup>48</sup>

The materials from which the Winchester cloister was constructed included black marble from India, Canadian marble from British Columbia, syenite from New Zealand and granite from South Africa.<sup>49</sup> Those responsible for bringing it into being had patently spared no effort to create something more than an assembly of building materials and the word ‘poetry’ is an appropriate description of that additional something. A sense of poetry is to be found in memorials related to both wars, irrespective of whether or not they served a useful purpose.

<sup>47</sup> Rosenberg, J.D., (ed.) (1998) *The Genius Of John Ruskin, Selections From His Writings*, London: University of Virginia Press. p. 131.

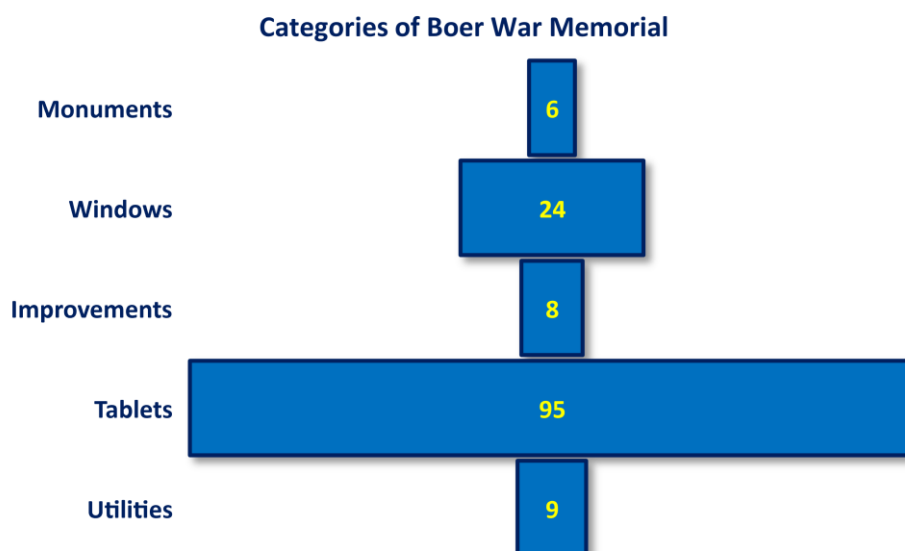
<sup>48</sup> "Winchester War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 2 June 1924: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 13 May 2016.

<sup>49</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 82.



### *Boer War Memorials*

The total number of South African War memorials found in the schools covered by this study is 142. In some instances, there were more than one memorial, for example Bradfield where a rather ornate tablet, which deserves to be recognised in its own right, was erected on the east wall of the chapel's south transept and a stained-glass window was installed on the south side of the same transept. Similarly, at Cheltenham the cross was built as an outside memorial whilst the reredos occupies one interior wall of the chapel. In each of these examples the number of memorials is consequently counted as two and the total of 142 memorials were found across an aggregation of 111 schools. Categorising the memorials requires some harsh decisions. For instance, 'tablet' and 'cross' seem small words for, respectively, the ornate mural at Beaumont and the elaborate exterior structure at Cheltenham, both described in some detail in Chapter Four.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, in order to arrive at a manageable number of groupings such memorials need to be classified at their most basic level and the results of that exercise are given below.



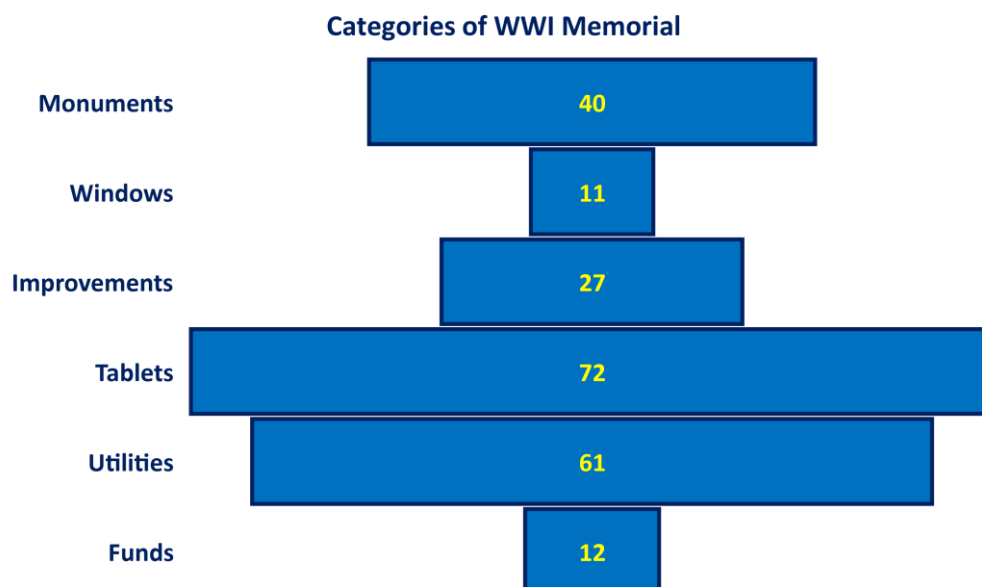
<sup>50</sup> Chapter Four, *Design and Construction*, pages 214 and 224.

The category *Monuments* includes those items which Weaver described as having no useful purpose other than remembrance, for example the obelisk at Haileybury, the cross at Cheltenham, the statue at Clifton, and the gateway at Winchester. Stained-glass windows he categorised as adornments to existing buildings but in the chart these are shown separately to *Improvements* which include such items as the reredoses at Cheltenham and Eton, the pulpit at Framlingham, the mosaics at Sherborne, the drinking fountain at St. Paul's, and the oak stalls at Rossall. *Tablets* also embrace plaques of all materials and complexity, brasses, and the memorial shield at Edinburgh. *Utilities* include the workroom/museum at Oxford Preparatory, the cloister at Charterhouse, the dining room at All Hallows, libraries at Glenalmond and Dulwich, and the rather complicated gymnasium/concert-hall/armoury building at Uppingham. The chart is dominated by the category *Tablets* and it might be considered that a more representative view would be obtained by stripping out those placed near other memorials merely to list the names of those being commemorated. In other words, those which, in Hermitage-Day's view, were *not* erected to the glory of God. Doing so, however, only slightly reduces the width of the *Tablets* band and does not dramatically change the impact of the overall image.

### ***Great War Memorials***

Undertaking the same exercise for WWI reveals 223 memorials across 158 schools and it will be noted, from the graphic appearing overleaf, that a new category, *Funds*, has been added. At Bury Grammar a portion of the collected memorial monies was used to assist the education of sons of Old Boys who had fallen in the war, whilst at King's Cathedral School, Worcester, a scholarship was set up for boys in similar circumstances. At City of Norwich School, the memorial fund surplus was invested

and the interest devoted to the purchase of prizes for academic achievement. At Elizabeth College, Guernsey, scholarships were provided for ‘sons of the Fallen, and, where needful, daughters’ as well.<sup>51</sup> Eight other schools similarly allocated a portion of their memorial funds to be used in this way.

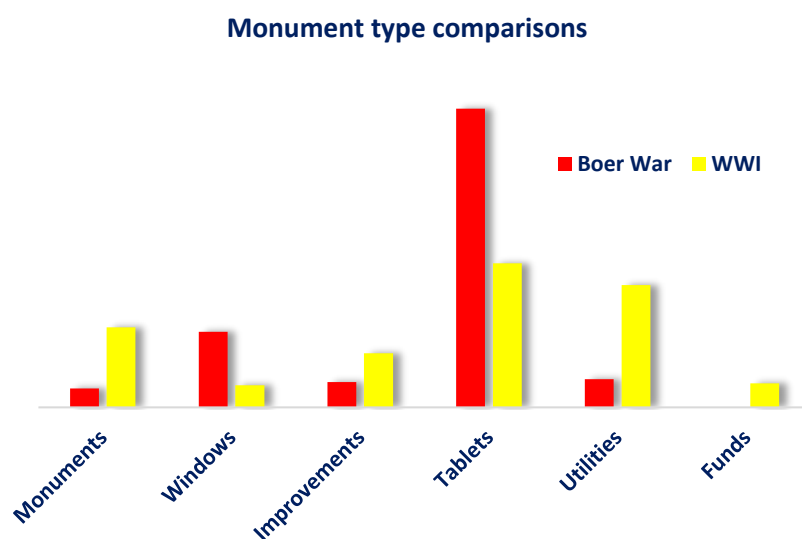


There are some striking differences between the above chart and that which appeared on page 304 but they are best represented in an additional graphic which expresses each memorial type as a percentage of the total and compares Boer War commemoration with that of WWI. That new graphic is presented on the following page but, because entering the percentages to each of the columns would detract from its impact, it is preceded by the following table which supplies the figures from which the graphic is compiled.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 247.

<sup>52</sup> The information for this table and graphic comes, mainly, from Gildea, J., *For Remembrance* and Kernot, C.F., (1927) *British Public Schools War Memorials*, but also from personal visits to schools and repositories.

Memorial type	Boer War	WWI
Monuments	4.23	17.94
Windows	16.90	4.93
Improvements	5.63	12.11
Tablets	66.90	32.29
Utilities	6.34	27.35
Funds	0	5.38
<b>Totals</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>



The percentage of *Tablets* and *Windows* decreased from Boer War memorialisation to that of WWI and the percentage of *Monuments*, *Improvements* and *Utilities* all increased. Schools generally became much more inclined to commission memorials which served a useful purpose such as chapels, assembly halls and libraries, but new sporting facilities were also widely introduced. King's Cathedral School, for instance, erected a cricket pavilion and fives courts whilst other cricket pavilions were built at Hurstpierpoint, Bradfield, Cranleigh, Monmouth Grammar, Haberdashers' Aske's Hatcham, Christ College Brecon, and Elizabeth College Guernsey. New playing fields appeared at Perse School Cambridge, Loretto, City of London, Llandovery, Bury Grammar and Tettenhall College. Swimming baths were one of the choices at the

Grammar Schools of both Monmouth and Leeds whilst Magdalen School Oxford opted for electric lighting in its chapel and Trent College Derby invested in a Headmaster's House with a garden and four acres of land. Over the entrance to that new house was a thoughtful inscription, quoted below:

within this quiet garden close, though o'er all lands our graves lie spread, still do we live, and walk with those whose thoughts are with the Dead.<sup>53</sup>

Trent had lost no former pupils in the Boer War but 101 had perished in WWI. The scale of loss at Trent, and at all other schools, meant that the dead seemed much more present in the years following the war's cessation in 1918.

Monuments, that is structures serving no practical purpose, increased, in percentage terms, over four-fold, with cenotaphs being introduced at Beaumont and Wyggeston Grammar; memorial gateways at Clifton and Trent; crosses at Blundell's and St. John's Leatherhead; and a memorial calvary at St. Edward's Oxford. The Bronze Freize at Eton was inscribed with the names, in alphabetical order, of the 1,157 who perished but, as mentioned, the main memorial for this college was in the form of educational bursaries granted to the sons of its dead alumni. Eton had firmly moved away from a bricks-and-mortar type of memorial but that was certainly not the case at most other locations.

Charterhouse had erected a very substantial cloister in honour of those Carthusians who had served and died in South Africa but now commissioned a new chapel to remember those who served and died in WWI. *The Times* gave a description which testified to the size and quality of the building two weeks prior to its consecration in

<sup>53</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 73.

1927,<sup>54</sup> and later reported that the cost had been £75,000.<sup>55</sup> Harrow erected a large memorial building following WWI, having considerably enlarged its chapel following the Boer War, whilst Uppingham followed its gymnasium/concert-hall/armoury complex, opened in 1905, with a Great Hall, opened in 1924. Dulwich College had built the handsome memorial library, described in detail in Chapter Four,<sup>56</sup> to remember its South African War dead but now chose an immense memorial cross which rested on an octagonal pedestal, itself constructed above steps on a dedicated site in the school grounds, to remember its casualties from WWI. Winchester too embarked on what turned out to be an even more elaborate Great War memorial, in the form of a cloister, than its Boer War entrance gate. In summary, then, both functional and large ornamental memorials increased between the first and third decades of the twentieth century, all at the expense of the previously popular tablets and stained-glass windows. The categories of individual invited to unveil them, however, did not markedly change and a comparative analysis of those individuals is the subject of the next segment.

### *Unveilers*

A graphic representation of Boer War school unveilers was given in Chapter Five,<sup>57</sup> and it is reproduced overleaf as a reminder and so that it might be easily compared with a new graphic (appearing at the foot of the following page) which provides the same information in relation to the Great War.<sup>58</sup>

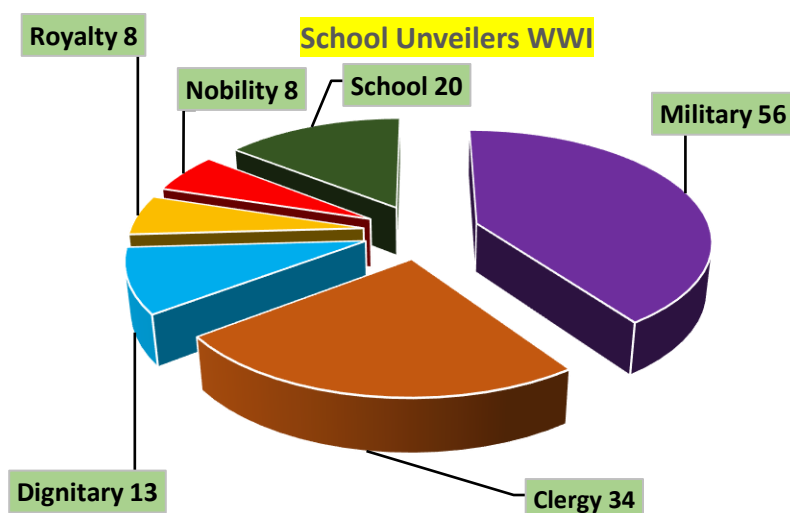
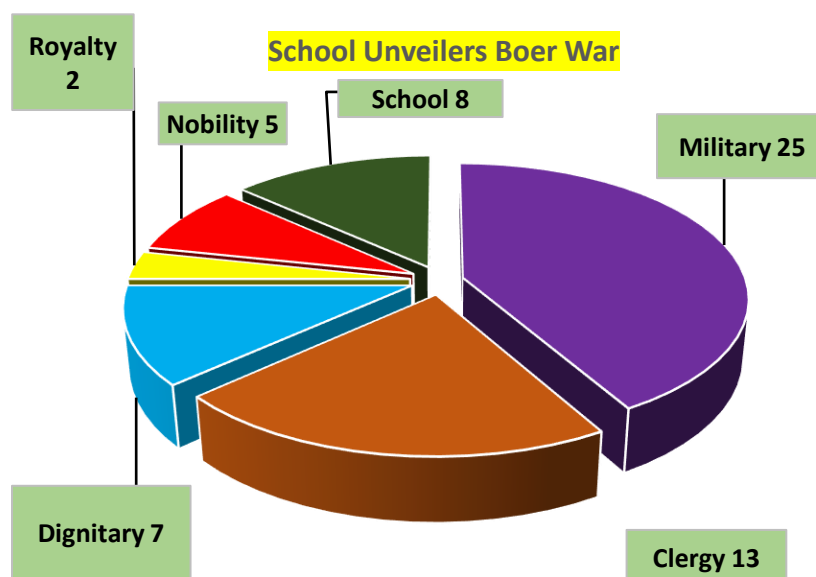
<sup>54</sup> "War Memorial Chapel At Charterhouse." *Times* [London, England] 2 June 1927: 13. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 12 May 2016.

<sup>55</sup> "War Memorial Chapel At Charterhouse." *Times* [London, England] 16 June 1927: 18. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 12 May 2016.

<sup>56</sup> Chapter Four, *Memorial Design and Construction*, page 223.

<sup>57</sup> Chapter Five, *Unveiling Ceremonies*, page 250.

<sup>58</sup> The information for this graphic comes, mainly, from Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*. but also from personal visits to schools and repositories.



The comparison figures, both in actual and percentage terms, are now detailed in the following table and the percentages are broadly similar even though the Great War sample is much larger.

<i>Category</i>	<i>Boer War</i>		<i>Great War</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Military</i>	25	41.67	56	40.29
<i>Clergy</i>	13	21.67	34	24.46
<i>Dignitary</i>	7	11.67	13	9.35
<i>Royalty</i>	2	3.33	8	5.76
<i>Nobility</i>	5	8.33	8	5.76
<i>School</i>	8	13.33	20	14.38
<b><i>Totals</i></b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Military unveilers were still, by far, the most popular choice for school unveilings in the 1920s followed, as before, by clergy. Schools continued to hold a preference for unveilers who were also old boys – Fettes, Bloxham, Clifton, Derby and University College all chose past pupils who had become members of the military whilst Sedbergh and Uppingham chose alumni who had become men of the cloth. Those with a connection to the school were the choice at City of Oxford (President of the Old Boys’ Club) and Bury (senior master). Other categories of unveiler remained about the same but what was different was that many more clergy officiated at unveilings and they were more serious occasions.

The table presented above shows that unveilers of Great War memorials have been found in respect of 139 schools and that thirty-four of those unveilers were members of the clergy. Of the balance of 105 schools, clergy were present at unveiling in at least sixty-nine cases, sometimes in force. At King’s Rochester, for example, the Bishop of Rochester was attended by a sacristan and was in the company of the Dean, the Archdeacon and the Precentor of Rochester Cathedral.<sup>59</sup> At Lancing College

<sup>59</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 71.



Prince Henry, who unveiled the new memorial cloister, was greeted by Bishop Southwell and conducted to the chapel where he was met by a procession which included the Bishop of Chichester, together with clerical members of his staff, and Canon H.T. Bowlby, a former headmaster.<sup>60</sup> Downside School, near Bath, opened its memorial, a new nave of the Abbey Church, in 1925 and the ceremony was attended by 'Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster, the Archbishop of Cardiff, the Bishops of Clifton and Lancaster, Bishops Vaughan, Butt and Keatinge, Monsignor Provost Russell, and other Roman Catholic dignatories (sic)'.<sup>61</sup> Also present was Cardinal Gasquet who conveyed the blessing of the Pope.

Why should so many more clergy have been present at school unveilings? Had the schools' community become more religious? To begin with, Protestantism has been shown, in this thesis,<sup>62</sup> to have been the religious outlook of the vast majority of schools studied and most of those schools embraced the Church of England code of belief. That Church wholeheartedly supported WWI, and in a way which was not evident during the Boer War. Indeed, some clerics, for example Edward Lee Hicks, Bishop of Lincoln, strenuously opposed the South African War, yet enthusiastically argued that the Great War was a necessity.<sup>63</sup> It follows that the successful prosecution of the war would have been widely celebrated by clergy.

<sup>60</sup> "Prince Henry At Lancing." *Times* [London, England] 27 June 1927: 19. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 17 May 2016.

<sup>61</sup> "Downside Abbey." *Times* [London, England] 27 July 1925: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 17 May 2016.

<sup>62</sup> Chapter Two, *Men Memorialised*, page 136.

<sup>63</sup> M. C. Curthoys, 'Hicks, Edward Lee (1843–1919)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33853, [accessed 9 Oct 2016].

The impact of WWI on schools was huge. As mentioned in the opening paragraph of this chapter,<sup>64</sup> the number of WWI deaths from just 138 schools shockingly exceeded the *total* number of Boer War deaths on the British side. A more serious response than that provided earlier would obviously have been called for. The chapel, as mentioned in Chapter Four page 200, was considered, at the time, to be the school focal point. Arthur Peppin was quoted in that chapter as remarking ‘nearest the core of ... love and loyalty for ... a school’ was the ‘chapel and its services’.<sup>65</sup> Also quoted were the governors of St John’s who considered the chapel to be ‘the centre and source of the School’s life’.<sup>66</sup> In such circumstances, and also bearing in mind that many school headmasters, and teachers, had been ordained, the chapel was the obvious place to which to turn for coming to terms with the huge casualty count. Clergy would have found a welcome both from the organisers of memorialisation events and their attendees.

The greater emphasis on religion, however, should not be mistaken for an increase in belief. Keith Robbins points out that a loss of religious faith has ‘often been taken to be one of the major legacies of the war’, and he wonders if, in its aftermath ‘Christianity remained central in life as well as in death’.<sup>67</sup> Callum Brown observes that ‘evidence mounted’, as early as 1918/1919, ‘that the working classes, and especially male soldiers, were turning against the churches of their youth’.<sup>68</sup> Brown

<sup>64</sup> p. 286

<sup>65</sup> Peppin, A.H., (1927) ‘Public Schools And Their Music’ in Morris, A., (ed.), (2014) *Music In Independent Schools*, Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer Ltd. p.165.

<sup>66</sup> *Johnian*, vol. XXXVIII, no.1, January 1923. p.1.

<sup>67</sup> Robbins, K., (2010) *England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales: The Christian Church 1900-2000*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 155.

<sup>68</sup> Brown, C.G., (2006) *Religion And Society In Twentieth-century Britain*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited. p.107.

also provides a case study of a Church of England vicar who, in a letter to *Church Times*, expressed his dismay that so many of his returning parishioners had ‘lost all their grip on religion’.<sup>69</sup> In fact the Church’s strong support of the Great War resulted in a weakening of its power and influence in the 1920s and it is apparent that men of the cloth were well aware that a drift was taking place. No evidence has been found of such a weakening in schools but, in the general circumstances, there was a clear need, from a clerical viewpoint, to be fully identified with commemoration in order to continue being regarded as central to the life of schools. Their increased presence at school ceremonies could well indicate that clergy saw such events as opportunities to arrest, or at least slow, any school trend toward a decline in belief. Whatever changes in school-boy belief may, or may not, have been happening, religious observance in their places of education was quite pronounced in 1920s unveiling ceremonies.

Why should school unveilings have become more serious? WWI school unveilings were undoubtedly more sombre occasions than their Boer counterparts. Commemoration at Sedbergh was found to have been, in 1904, a background event but in July 1924 it was the main business of the day. The Bishop of Croydon was reported, in 1904, as having distributed prizes and *additionally* unveiled a tablet at Whitgift. However, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Major-General Sir John Raynsford Longley, who respectively dedicated a Cross and Tablet at the same school in 1924, had no other duties to perform on that day.<sup>70</sup> Edward VII had undertaken several tasks at Wellington’s unveiling in 1907 but opening the College’s WWI memorial was the only duty allocated to his brother, the Duke of Connaught, in

<sup>69</sup> Brown, C.G., (2006) *Religion And Society In Twentieth-century Britain*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited. p.107.

<sup>70</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 170.

October 1922.<sup>71</sup> At Clifton College the annual cricket match associated with the Guthrie Commemoration was commenced on Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> June 1922,<sup>72</sup> and the related chapel service held on Saturday 1<sup>st</sup> July,<sup>73</sup> leaving Friday 30<sup>th</sup> June free for Field-Marshal Earl Haig, an alumnus of the College, to unveil its Memorial Gateway. It will be recalled that all similar events had been crammed into the one day, Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> June, at the 1904 unveiling of the Boer memorial. Derby School's unveiling in 1905 had been overshadowed by prize-giving to celebrate academic and career achievement, but no business was undertaken on Friday 11<sup>th</sup> November 1921 other than to unveil and dedicate a memorial obelisk of Portland stone in front of the school's main entrance.

St. Olave's and St. Saviour's School provides the best example. Its memorial was unveiled on Friday 21<sup>st</sup> July 1922 and its prize-giving that year took place a week later, on Thursday 27<sup>th</sup>. William Reynolds-Stephens, President of the Royal British Sculptors' Society, officiated at the first event and Herbert Henry Asquith, Prime Minister at the outbreak of war, at the second. In the aftermath of the Boer War both matters would have been scheduled for the same day, especially as these men were well-known public figures and either would have been a very acceptable choice for the two occasions. Olave's deliberately kept the ceremonies apart, however, so as to run no risk of diluting the solemnity of the unveiling. These examples demonstrate that the mood was much more sombre in the 1920s and the reason can be found in the huge loss of life, the fact that the bereaved were more centre-stage, and that the WWI opponent was viewed as evil as opposed to the Boer opponent being primarily

<sup>71</sup> "Wellington College War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 25 Oct. 1922: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 May 2016.

<sup>72</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Saturday 1 July 1922.

<sup>73</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Monday 3 July 1922.

bothersome. A more serious atmosphere demanded that, as well as unveilings not being coincided with celebratory events, such as prize-giving, a different approach should be made in the speeches given and it is to that topic that this chapter will now turn.

### *Speeches*

It was demonstrated in Chapter Five that the principal mission of those who unveiled Boer War memorials at schools was to validate school values. Those unveilers consequently delivered messages which affirmed that the dead had acquired their codes of conduct at school and had used them to benefit others, whilst enhancing the reputation of the school. The ceremonies were largely of a celebratory nature, thus allowing other school celebrations, such as prize-giving, to take place at the same time. By the 1920s, however, a mood of disillusionment had set in and the requirement for unveilers, and the accompanying clergy, was to authenticate the loss of life and motivate present pupils to appropriately respond if called upon to defend their country and school in future. This section will show that there was a recognition of post-war disappointment and dissatisfaction from mid-1922 onward and that ‘Empire’ was seen as the immediate remedy. It will demonstrate that unveilers sought to justify the war by describing the enemy as evil and the school dead as heroes. Their unveiling speeches relied heavily on the words ‘duty’ and ‘sacrifice’ – words designed to motivate pupils for the future.

### *Disillusionment and Empire*

The Duke of York unveiled a memorial at The Leys, Cambridge, on Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> July 1922 and spoke of the 149 who had died as having added lustre to the traditions of the

school. 'The passage of time', the Duke continued, has 'brought us to a situation which [offers] little or nothing of the heroic', and 'disenchantment with the new order of life', not expected during the years of war, has, 'to some extent overtaken'.<sup>74</sup> He went on to suggest that anxieties now being faced might appear 'sordid' in comparison with those experienced during the war, but that they 'must be faced if the Empire was to live': only by preserving the ideals for which the Old Leysians had given their lives could 'our Empire be set on its feet, and the wounds still [afflicting] the country be gradually healed'.<sup>75</sup> The Duke had correctly diagnosed the air of malcontent: Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin was to admit, in 1923, that 'to many the last five years have been a disenchantment',<sup>76</sup> whilst Winter would later describe victory as having 'a taste of ashes'<sup>77</sup> and Tosh observe that the war became 'a shorthand for pointless slaughter'.<sup>78</sup> To the Duke, however, part, if not all, of the problem's solution lay in the preservation of the British Empire. In his speech at Leys he was anticipating the colonial exhibition of 1924 which, asserts Kenneth Walthew, opened 'amid scenes of near-hysterical patriotic fervour' and upon which 'the nation pinned its hopes for a bright future in a singularly depressing present'.<sup>79</sup> The exhibition served to emphasise the importance of empire and it, empire, came to be generally seen as 'a panacea for [the] economic problems' of the years following WWI.<sup>80</sup> Discontent, however, would eventually win the day and Stuart Ward, writing in 2001, maintains that 'the prevailing

<sup>74</sup> *Scotsman* – Friday 7 July 1922.

<sup>75</sup> "Duke Of York At Leys School." *Times* [London, England] 7 July 1922: 16. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 19 May 2016.

<sup>76</sup> "Board Of Trade War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 20 Dec. 1923: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 19 May 2016.

<sup>77</sup> Winter, J., *Sites Of Memory, Sites Of Mourning*, 227.

<sup>78</sup> Tosh, J. (2008) *Why History Matters*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p.64.

<sup>79</sup> Walthew, K. (1981) 'The British Empire Exhibition Of 1924', in *History Today*, vol. 31, issue 8. London: History Today Ltd. p.34.

<sup>80</sup> Olson, J.S., and Shadle, R., (eds.) (1996) *Historical Dictionary Of The British Empire, Volume 1*, Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press. p.413.

orthodoxy holds that ‘ordinary Britons’ had grown indifferent to, or even positively hostile towards, the imperial ideal from the 1940s onwards’.<sup>81</sup>

Several speakers took up the empire theme. Mrs Bulloch, a lady whose connection to Tettenhall College has not presently been able to be established, said, on presenting a flag to the institution’s headmaster, that it was her ‘tribute, not only to the Old Boys who have fallen, but to a School where such a fine spirit exists and where so much is done to make our boys worthy citizens of a great and glorious Empire’.<sup>82</sup> Admiral Sir Frederick Charles Doveton Sturdee who unveiled a statue at Malvern observed that ‘there were insidious dangers within the Empire’ and that ‘it was the duty of all to defend [it] when danger came’<sup>83</sup> whilst Prince Henry, speaking at Lancing College commented ‘on the value to the Empire of the public schools, with the great tradition they embodied’.<sup>84</sup> Lieutenant-General Sir George Montague Harper, when unveiling a Cross at Rugby, referred to ‘the resources of Empire’; Colonel C.P. Heywood, speaking at Denstone College, referenced the empire as being united throughout the war years, and at City of Oxford School Sir Oswyn Murray, Secretary to the Admiralty and President of the Old Boys’ Club, noted that ‘the Great War [had] been fought in the Playing Fields and Classrooms of every school throughout the Empire’.<sup>85</sup>

Uppingham School commissioned two memorials, a Shrine in its chapel, dedicated by the Bishop of Southampton, an Old Uppinghamian, on Sunday 16<sup>th</sup> October 1921,<sup>86</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Ward, S., (ed.) (2001) *British Culture And The End Of Empire*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. p.2.

<sup>82</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 131.

<sup>83</sup> *Gloucester Citizen* – Monday 10 July 1922

<sup>84</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* – Monday 27 June 1927.

<sup>85</sup> Kernot, *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 59, 103 and 62.

<sup>86</sup> *Grantham Journal* – Saturday 22 October 1921.

and a Great Hall opened by Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Harington on Tuesday 5<sup>th</sup> July 1924. Harington told the audience that those ex-pupils being commemorated had given ‘their all for their King and country and for Uppingham’ and he called upon boys present to follow their example and help preserve ‘the best old Empire in the world’.<sup>87</sup> The emphasis on empire was designed to give a sense of pride and to indicate that a boy’s employment prospects might lie in that attractive direction. The message was accompanied by others to the effect that a mighty threat had been averted by past-pupil heroism – summed up in the two words which head up the next section.

### *Duty and Sacrifice*

The Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Theodore Woods, speaking at Epsom College in February 1925 said:

In 1914 Europe was sick with the morbid growth of blatant commercialism, unfettered national ambitions, of the crass selfishness of nations, groups, and classes. To drain away the septic poison of false ideas, the very cream of our manhood gave their lives.<sup>88</sup>

Dr. Woods went on to ask if the old order of international politics had been destroyed and if there was any evidence that today’s world was stepping upward to a higher level of reason, neighbourliness, and friendship. ‘It was the younger generation’, the Bishop concluded, ‘which would have to say whether they were prepared to break forth out of old ruts and have the courage to adopt new methods of treatment for the political and industrial diseases from which so far we have suffered’.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *Grantham Journal* – Saturday 5 July 1924.

<sup>88</sup> *Aberdeen Journal* – Monday 23 February 1925.

<sup>89</sup> *Aberdeen Journal* – Monday 23 February 1925.



Woods had taken his text from The Revelation of St. John The Devine which speaks of the leaves of the tree of life being used for the healing of nations.<sup>90</sup> He referred to the legend that the Cross was part of that tree and said that only by the sign of the Cross, which meant ‘service and sacrifice, even unto death, could the woes of the world be healed’.<sup>91</sup> Woods obviously felt that the peoples of Europe were morally bankrupt at the beginning of the Great War but had now been provided with an opportunity to retrieve their situation.

Henry Wace, Dean of Canterbury and Chairman of Governors at Langton Boys’ School performed the unveiling of a tablet in the school hall on Tuesday 24<sup>th</sup> May 1921. In attendance were an additional five members of the clergy but the place of honour was assigned to relatives of those being commemorated. Dr. Wace first reminded his audience that eighty-nine of those Old Boys who had gone to war had made the supreme sacrifice of death, but that many who had returned were making a similar sacrifice in maimed and suffering lives. He rhetorically asked why, of their own free will, the boys had made that sacrifice and he put forward a three-fold answer – to honour a pledge to ‘maintain the independence of a small country’ [Belgium]; to maintain the freedom gained by ‘our fathers’ over ‘centuries of work and war’; and to retain control of the seas, which he regarded as being ‘the very means of our daily bread’: ‘We have inherited’, he continued, a ‘true, godly, pure and free life’ which ‘cannot be maintained unless you are prepared to sacrifice your lives’.<sup>92</sup> In order to

<sup>90</sup> *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments*. [Authorised King James Version] (undated) London: Collins Bible. The Revelation of St. John The Devine, chapter 22, verse 2, page 247. ‘In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, *was there* the tree of life, which bare twelve *manner* of fruits, *and* yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree *were* for the healing of the nations.

<sup>91</sup> "Epsom College Memorial Chapel." *Times* [London, England] 23 Feb. 1925: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 19 May 2016.

<sup>92</sup> *Langtonian*, July 1921, Volume 11, number five, new series, p.227.

arrive at this conclusion Dr Wace had taken as his text ‘And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission’.<sup>93</sup> As matters turned out, it was ironic that Wace should have mentioned honouring a pledge. Shortly after the tablet unveiling it was discovered that two names had been omitted, those of A.N. Kennedy and A.L. Barker. The school magazine reported the fact in July 1921 and stated that their names would be engraved ‘shortly’.<sup>94</sup> They never were, and the brass is now in the school’s Reception Hall, unamended.<sup>95</sup>

Fettes College, Edinburgh, chose, as its WWI memorial, a bronze figure of a mortally wounded young officer in a kilt lying on top of, what David McDowell, head of Government & Politics at the school, describes as ‘an austere stone box’.<sup>96</sup> It was unveiled in 1921 at a service attended by so many of the relatives of those being commemorated that there was room in the chapel for only a handful of boys. Major-General Sir William Macpherson, a former pupil who performed the ceremony, told his audience that ‘duty and sacrifice are the foundations upon which the patriotism, justice and freedom, the birthright of every citizen of our great empire are firmly and everlastingly fixed’.<sup>97</sup> Uppingham’s headmaster mentioned ‘duty’ and ‘service’ as being ‘two splendid words’ which had ‘inspired’ the fallen and which ‘must be the future watch-word of the School’.<sup>98</sup> Cardinal Bourne, speaking at Stonyhurst said that the memorial ‘reminded the student that duty had to be carried out even at the greatest

<sup>93</sup> *The Holy Bible*, The Epistle of Paul The Apostle To The Hebrews, chapter 9, verse 22, page 213

<sup>94</sup> *Langtonian*, July 1921, Volume 11, number five, new series, p.230.

<sup>95</sup> Barker, Janeen (jbarker@thelangton.kent.sch.uk), 2016. *Re Commemoration*. 29 April. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>96</sup> McDowell, D., (2012) *Carrying On: Fettes College, War And The World 1870-2010*, Beauchamp, Leicestershire: Matador, an imprint of Troubador Publishing Ltd. p.1.

<sup>97</sup> McDowell, D., *Carrying On*, 291.

<sup>98</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 117

cost'.<sup>99</sup> At Winchester, in June 1924, the Bishop of that diocese read a prayer which included a thanksgiving 'for our brothers, here to be constantly remembered, who in unflinching courage, laying down their lives at duty's call, in their measure shared', and the Duke of Connaught added 'England has no finer instance of the devotion of its sons than this of those Wykehamists who went out from here to battle for King and country'.<sup>100</sup> At Taunton School, Lord Eustace Percy, President of the Board of Education, said that the men being commemorated knew 'instinctively what their duty was' and he considered that the whole of a boy's education should lead up to the settling of a will to undertake some work, or render some service, to the community.<sup>101</sup>

Oakham school had invited the Lord Bishop of Ossory, himself an Old Boy and one of six officiating clergy, and he told those present that they 'had come there that day' to 'thank god for [the] loyalty, ... courage, ... devotion to duty, and ... self-sacrifice' of the Old Oakhamians who had died.<sup>102</sup> He appealed to the boys to do 'their duty bravely and unselfishly, so that they might hand on ... the Shining Lamp which' had been handed to them 'undimmed and clear'.<sup>103</sup> The Bishop of Durham, speaking at Durham School, reminded the boys that 'life was filled with great alternatives in which the claim of a man's duty might be suddenly invested with the sombre majesty of tragedy'.<sup>104</sup> The knowledge that 'the boys of Durham', he went on to say, had 'played the man and, at cruel cost' had done their part 'in saving freedom would add something to the forces from Above which made the right choice possible'.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>99</sup> *Burnley News* – Wednesday 28 June 1922.

<sup>100</sup> "Winchester War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 2 June 1924: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 18 May 2016.

<sup>101</sup> *Taunton Courier, and Western Advertiser* – Wednesday 7 October 1925.

<sup>102</sup> *Grantham Journal* – Saturday 31 October 1925

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* – Friday 1 October 1926

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

At Sedbergh, a cloister was dedicated by the Archbishop of Melbourne, also an Old Boy, and tablets were unveiled by Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Harington who declared that those who had served and died in the war had done ‘their best for King, country and Sedbergh’.<sup>106</sup> At the suburb of Clifton, Bristol, Field-Marshal Haig told those present that they were met together ‘to set the seal to the latest (and not the least) glorious page in the history of Clifton College’: additionally that the memorial he had unveiled paid ‘tribute to the splendour of the sacrifice [his old school-fellows had] made for King and country’.<sup>107</sup> Haig also made reference to an empire ‘received from the hands of our forefathers’ ‘that is yet greater in ideals and qualities’, defining that second mass noun, as Methuen might also have done in 1904, as ‘courage, manliness and truth, clean living and honest dealing’.<sup>108</sup> At Derby, Lieutenant-Colonel George Alfred Lewis, an Old Derbeian, performed the ceremony, the headmaster read the names, and an address was made by the Bishop of Derby. Alderman Laurie, Chairman of the Governors, informed those who attended that sixty-two percent of the Old Boys who served had gained commissions; twenty percent had laid down their lives; seventy percent gained decorations, and fifty-four were mentioned in dispatches.<sup>109</sup> The number and percentages were obviously a great source of pride to all concerned.

Bury Grammar had not unveiled its Boer War memorial until late 1911 and had coincided the event with a prize-giving. Its WWI memorial, however, was unveiled in early 1924 and the unveiler was Mr James Legge Norton, the senior master at the school. Following a reading of names and a dedicatory prayer, Norton turned to the

<sup>106</sup> "Sedbergh School War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 7 July 1924: 20. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 May 2016.

<sup>107</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Saturday 1 July 1922.

<sup>108</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Saturday 1 July 1922.

<sup>109</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 98.

memorial and said ‘Heroic souls, who laid down your lives for us! This day we salute you with gratitude and affection’.<sup>110</sup> The mood at Radley College was equally serious, in contrast to 1904 when prize-giving, lunch, speeches and reciprocal toasting was followed by a garden party and glees from the choir. On this WWI occasion, Wednesday 31<sup>st</sup> May 1922, a memorial archway was unveiled by Sir William Robertson following a service of dedication performed by the Bishop of Oxford. 219 alumni, seven masters and eight servants had died and the inscription on the archway read: ‘In proud and grateful memory of all those who *gave* their lives in the Great War’.<sup>111</sup>

Pride, reverence and gratitude were evident in many speeches. *The Times* reported that Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Harington, in an address made during the lighting of a lamp at Eastbourne College, said he had observed people ‘slinking by the Cenotaph, motoring by, rushing by, with never a thought: they should be proud to salute every war memorial’.<sup>112</sup> *The Times* left it at that but *Gloucestershire Echo* also reported the General as commenting that he would ‘cheerfully puncture the tyres of any motor’ which rushed past and would ‘like to see fines imposed for such offences, the money to be devoted to the needs of the maimed and blind’.<sup>113</sup> These, and previous, comments indicate the depth of emotion felt at the unveiling of WWI memorials – a depth not noticeably reached at Boer ceremonies in schools.

<sup>110</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 18.

<sup>111</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 199-200. Italics have been added to the word ‘gave’ to emphasise Alex King’s point, mentioned on page 294, and to indicate that, in my own opinion, lives were *taken*, not *given*.

<sup>112</sup> “Eastbourne College War Memorial.” *Times* [London, England] 29 June 1925: 11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 20 May 2016.

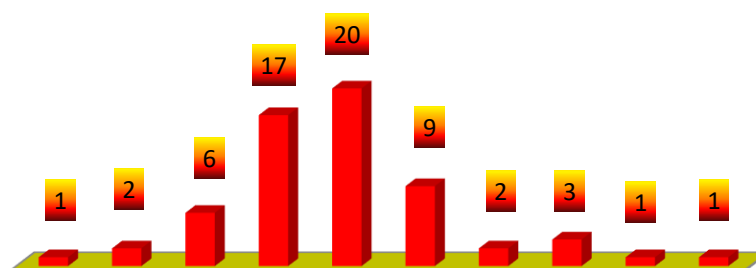
<sup>113</sup> *Gloucestershire Echo* – Tuesday 30 June 1925.

Those who made unveiling speeches in the 1920s then, concentrated on the themes of empire, to instil pride and provide hope, and duty/sacrifice, to justify the war and ready the minds of boys for possible future conflicts. Duty and sacrifice had also been Boer War unveiling themes but in a way which was reflective and not particularly used with an eye to the future. The increased use of the same theme in relation to WWI was to counter post-war disillusionment and to convey the idea that the war had been worthwhile, whatever the horrific human cost. Also, possibly in an effort to deflect post-war cynicism and disappointment by paying greater homage to the dead, WWI memorials were, as has been demonstrated, more elaborate. As a result, they took, on average, longer to complete. Various dates have already been mentioned but the following section will deal with the subject in more detail and compare findings with the dates on which South African memorials were unveiled

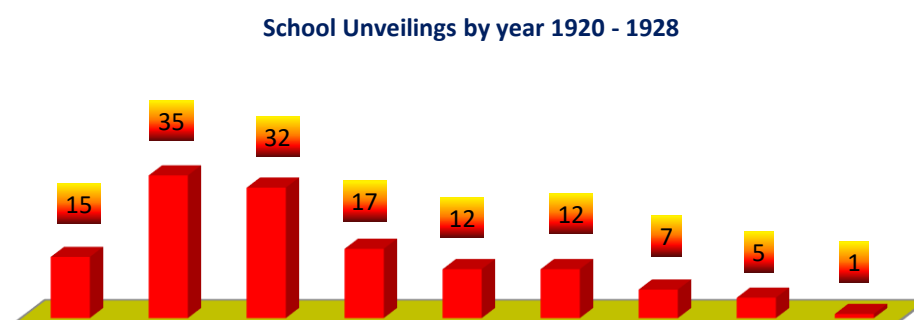
### *Unveiling Dates*

The Boer War ended on Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> May 1902, but the earliest school memorial unveiling found by this study occurred at Blundell's on Wednesday 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1900, at which time only six of the thirteen men whose names would eventually appear on a brass below a stained-glass window had actually died.

**School Unveilings by year 1900 - 1909**



Two other memorials appeared before the war end, but the peak time occurred in the years 1903-1905 when almost three-quarters of the remembrance items found were unveiled. The topic was discussed in Chapter Five and a graph of unveilings in the years 1900 through 1909 was provided. It is reproduced above as a reminder. Against the First World War 136 unveiling dates have been discovered and a graphic of those findings appears below.<sup>114</sup>



The early unveilings for the South African war were precipitated by the belief, in December 1900, that the end of the conflict was in sight. *The Times* reported, on the first day of that month, that Roberts had already left Johannesburg and was on his way to Capetown by way of Durban, having handed over command to Kitchener. ‘After the laborious and difficult operations which [Roberts] has conducted to a successful issue’, *The Times* continued, ‘it is only natural that he should be willing to place in other hands the work that remains to be done’.<sup>115</sup> It must have seemed inconceivable, at that time, that the war would drag on for another full eighteen months. No such possibility of an early finish to WWI was signalled, once the original hope that it would be over by Christmas 1914 had been dashed, so the earliest unveiling took place

<sup>114</sup> The information for this graphic comes, mainly, from Kernot, *British Public Schools War Memorials*, but also from personal visits to schools and repositories.

<sup>115</sup> "It is officially announced by the War Office that." *Times* [London, England] 1 Dec. 1900: 11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 21 May 2016.

on Tuesday 27<sup>th</sup> January 1920 at Bootham School, York, twenty-six months after the war had ended. An earlier event, that of a Memorial Calvary at St. Edward's School, Oxford, was scheduled to take place on Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> December 1919 and is actually listed by the Imperial War Museum,<sup>116</sup> and in Kernot's book as having done so.<sup>117</sup> The Prince of Wales made a national appeal in 1918 that all schools should consider a memorial to remember 'the glorious dead' and Edward's began collecting monies from Old Boys, parents and staff, although funds were slow to arrive with the result that the Calvary was unveiled exactly one year later on Thursday 16<sup>th</sup> December 1920.<sup>118</sup>

The last two Great War memorials to be unveiled were those at Lancing college, on Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> June 1927, and Leeds Grammar on Monday 21<sup>st</sup> May 1928, but the majority, over 60%, occurred in the years 1921-1923. On average, it took rather longer for schools to erect WWI memorials than those commemorating the Boer War, but, as has been demonstrated, the later memorials were more complex and would have taken a longer amount of time to prepare. Lancing and Leeds, being the last two unveilings, provide good examples of complex memorials. The Lancing cloister is an elaborate structure, over 100 feet in length, and the entire work was carried out by the college staff of masons and others already working on school buildings. The boys assisted in clearing the site for the cloister, and construction material, Sussex sandstone, was sourced locally at Scaynes Hill with the obvious intention of blending into the existing

<sup>116</sup> *Imperial War Museums* [Online], Research, Search UK War Memorials, Available: [http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search?utm\\_source=ukniwm&utm\\_medium=rw&utm\\_campaign=wmalaunch](http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search?utm_source=ukniwm&utm_medium=rw&utm_campaign=wmalaunch). WM reference 47394, [accessed 21 May 2016].

<sup>117</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 52.

<sup>118</sup> Nathan, Chris (NathanC@stedwardsoxford.org), 2016. *Re War commemoration*. 22 May. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).



surroundings.<sup>119</sup> The Leeds Grammar memorial is a ‘swimming hall’, the entrance to which is ‘a shrine which perpetuates the names of the fallen’, and the whole building was described as ‘one of the finest swimming baths [possessed by] any school in the country’.<sup>120</sup> The unveiler at Lancing was H.R.H. Prince Henry, third son of King George V and Queen Mary, whilst at Leeds the Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding, the Bishop of Ripon, the Vicar of Leeds, the Bishop of Knaresborough, the Lord Mayor, the Town Clerk and the Chief Constable were all present. The high rank of attending dignitaries at both schools indicates that each would have needed to plan their unveiling ceremonies well in advance, partly accounting for the fact that they were the last to unveil. Amongst the earliest unveilings were representations of St George who appears, with or without his dragon, in fifteen of the WWI memorials being discussed, seven of them having been unveiled in the period 1920/1922. George was a figure already widely used in Boer War commemoration but one whose appeal, and presence, seems to have increased by the 1920s. His representation at many of schools where he is depicted on WWI memorials is the subject of the next section.

### *St. George*

The figure of St. George appears at seventeen of the schools whose Great War memorials have been studied and at ten of the Boer War memorials. There is, however, a difference in the employment of his image. On Boer memorials George has been found illustrated alongside, for example, saints Peter, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Andrew, Patrick, Mary, John, Christopher, Cyprian, Lawrence, Stephen and James. In WWI commemoration he appears mostly alone but has also been located

<sup>119</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 203-204.

<sup>120</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* – Tuesday 22 May 1928.

alongside saints Joan, Martin of Tours, and Alban. He additionally features, in stained-glass at Rydal School, Colwyn Bay, with Sir Galahad.<sup>121</sup> In the Great War images found of St. George, then, he tends to be the single depiction or else appears with other warrior figures: the representation at Rydal being particularly interesting, as Galahad was one of the achievers of the Holy Grail who, during his quest, destroyed enemies and rescued maidens in distress. George is consequently more aggressive on WWI memorials, reflecting the assertion made earlier in the chapter that the South African war was seen more as a family squabble,<sup>122</sup> whereas the Great War was viewed as the defeat of evil. His various depictions on 1920s memorial is the subject of the next few paragraphs.

The photograph at the head of Chapter Five showed the statue of George sculpted for Clifton College by Alfred Drury as its Boer War memorial and Drury was also the modeller and carver for two more statues commissioned for WWI commemoration at schools. These are at Malvern and Denstone and both effigies are very similar to that unveiled at Clifton College, twenty-one years before, to the day, in the case of Denstone and, approximately, eighteen years before in the case of Malvern.

Illustrations of these statues, and the plinths upon which they stand, appear on the following page and the origins of the photographs are as foot-noted.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 240

<sup>122</sup> Page 295.

<sup>123</sup> Malvern photograph reproduced by permission of its author, Dudley, Sue (sue.dudley@sky.com), 2016. *Re St. George war memorial at Malvern College*. 14 June. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie). Denstone photograph taken during a visit to the College 28 August 2016.



**Denstone College**



**Malvern College**

St. George also occupies a prominent position at The Leys and Wellington. At Leys, he is placed in full armour at the centre of a Mural Tablet and to either side are two panels containing the names of the 149 alumni who perished. An idea of the size of the figure may be gleaned from the fact that it is taller than each of the four panels. Below are the words ‘My marks and scars I carry with me to be a witness for me that I have fought His battles, who now will be my rewarder’.<sup>124</sup> The quotation comes from John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* and was clearly employed to imply that those who had died in the war would receive a heavenly reward. At Wellington, a white stone figure of St. George slaying the dragon stands atop a black marble column in front of which is an unfurled Union Jack ‘painted in proper colours’.<sup>125</sup> The saint was also prominent at Westminster School on a fifteen feet high memorial screen of British Oak, the centre of which was carried higher in the form of a curved pediment. Into this pediment was carved George, in armour on a white horse and with the dragon

<sup>124</sup> Noted during a visit to The Leys School, Cambridge, Tuesday 21<sup>st</sup> January 2014.

<sup>125</sup> *Imperial War Museums* [Online], Research, Search UK War Memorials, Available: [http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search?utm\\_source=ukniwm&utm\\_medium=rw&utm\\_campaign=wmalaunch](http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search?utm_source=ukniwm&utm_medium=rw&utm_campaign=wmalaunch). WM reference 18720, [accessed 23 September 2016].

below. The Westminster screen also featured, in a complete departure from traditional design, various WWI instruments of war such as 'gas masks, field telephones, and trench mortars',<sup>126</sup> but the whole memorial was regrettably destroyed when the school was bombed and burned out in 1941.<sup>127</sup>

At Wellingborough, George appears with St. Michael and other Warrior Saints of England and France; at Warwick, in his role as patron saint of soldiers, he stands alongside St. Nicholas, patron saint of sailors. His window at Leeds Grammar is in the entrance porch leading to the Memorial Swimming Bath, whilst at King's School, Rochester, he appears with King Arthur and St. Michael, and at Lancing he is shown with the dragon in a light at the eastern extremity of the Cloister.<sup>128</sup> At Eton, George's boyhood is depicted in tapestries, commissioned in addition to the Bronze Frieze already mentioned, and the faces of several Etonians were used as models. Bedford Grammar, in creating a memorial hall, library, store- and cloak-rooms created a niche in which to place a statue of St. George,<sup>129</sup> and Tonbridge School constructed a Gate of Remembrance leading from the Ante-Chapel into the Chapel, above which appears George, together with dragon, in bronze.<sup>130</sup> The sword of this St. George, however, is belted, indicating that his fighting days are behind him, whilst an Angel presents the saint with a Garland of Glory as reward for victory. It is an image constructed with the same intent as that of the St. George at The Leys.

<sup>126</sup> *Scotsman* – Thursday 27 October 1921.

<sup>127</sup> *Imperial War Museums* [Online], Research, Search UK War Memorials, Available: [http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search?utm\\_source=ukniwm&utm\\_medium=rw&utm\\_campaign=wmalaunch](http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search?utm_source=ukniwm&utm_medium=rw&utm_campaign=wmalaunch). WM reference 66139, [accessed 23 September 2016].

<sup>128</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 96, 132, 167, 240, 189 and 203.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.* 44 and 24.

<sup>130</sup> "Tonbridge School War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 12 Oct. 1925: 13. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 26 May 2016.

St George, then, is the strongest recurring theme in both Boer and WWI school memorialisation but there are also differences in the way he is depicted in each.

In the four cases of the saint being sculpted by Alfred Drury – Clifton, Harrow, Malvern and Denstone – the pose delineated on the first two, prepared for Boer War commemoration, is less aggressive than that adopted for the last two, prepared for Great War remembrance. In support of this claim the face of St. George on the Boer statue at Clifton was said to express a character of ‘fortitude and virtue without effeminacy’,<sup>131</sup> whereas that of the WWI St. George at Malvern was described as ‘strong’ and ‘majestic’; ‘intended to convey to the students the best qualities of the race, qualities worth striving for’.<sup>132</sup> The legend of St. George has already been explained in Chapter Four but it is worth quoting below the biblical origin of the dragon in order to explain why images of the saint proved so popular in WWI school commemoration.

And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world:<sup>133</sup>

Germany was seen in Britain during the war as evil, and even after the armistice Britons were called upon to recognise a violent, destructive, barbaric, drunken, German nature, as evidenced by the post-war cartoon reproduced overleaf.<sup>134</sup> Also prominently present in this poster is the cross – included as an indicator of the Christian righteousness of the British cause.

<sup>131</sup> Chapter Four, *Design and Construction*, page 210.

<sup>132</sup> Quickfall, Ian (piq@malcol.org), 2016. *Re War Commemoration*. 3 June. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>133</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Revelation, chapter 12, verse 9, 240.

<sup>134</sup> Source: Wikimedia Commons, David Wilson, illustrator, 1873-1935



Good had triumphed over evil and the exact parallel in iconography was St George, the champion of Christianity. The most aggressive memorial of this type, in the WWI cases examined, was found at St. Olave's and St. Saviour's School, Orpington, where the bronze figure of a helmeted Roman soldier stands, legs well astride and holding a sword across his body, against a marble wall slab, shaped in the form of a Cross. Inscribed between the arms of the Cross are the words 'Olaf bear along; Olaf to right the wrong; till all our fight be fought'.<sup>135</sup> The statue was originally erected at the school's premises in Queen Elizabeth Street, near the approach to Tower Bridge, but moved to Orpington when the school relocated in 1968.

<sup>135</sup> Noted during a visit to St. Olave's, Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> June 2016.



Photographed at St Olave School's new location (since 1968) in Orpington,  
9 June 2016

It is worth noting that *Catholic Online* reveals that Olaf was a pirate in his youth; that the ‘harshness of his rule precipitated a revolt of the nobles’; that he was ‘not too popular during his lifetime’.<sup>136</sup> The same source goes on to comment that ‘modern historians generally agree that Olaf was inclined to violence and brutality’.<sup>137</sup> At the start of the twentieth century Olaf was certainly not regarded by the school in this light, its magazine describing ‘the sanctity of his life and the nobleness of his aims’.<sup>138</sup> The reputations of such images may well change over time but, at his unveiling, in July 1922, Olaf, as a Nordic version of St. George, was a very suitable candidate to decorate St. Olave’s and St. Saviour’s war memorial.

Statue designer William Reynolds-Stephens and sculptor Alfred Drury have already been mentioned,<sup>139</sup> but there were many prominent people involved in the design and

<sup>136</sup> *Catholic Online* [Online] St. Olaf, Available:  
[http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint\\_id=132](http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=132) [accessed 18 May 2016].

<sup>137</sup> *Catholic Online* [Online] St. Olaf of Norway, Available:  
[http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint\\_id=4899](http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=4899) [accessed 18 May 2016].

<sup>138</sup> *Olavian*, vol. V, no. 6, December 1900, p.239.

<sup>139</sup> Pages 315 and 329 respectively.



construction of the First World War memorials being analysed and they are the subject of the next part of this chapter.

### *Architects, Designers, and Builders* <sup>140</sup>

112 architects and designers have been identified, twenty-three of whom were Old Boys. One of that number, Mr Ernest Newton, of the firm Ernest Newton & Sons, died during the construction of the memorial hall at his old school, Uppingham, and the work was completed by his two sons. Newton was distinguished in his field and was elected president of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1914.<sup>141</sup> There were many other highly distinguished architects and designers who worked on WWI school memorials. Sir Herbert Baker, for example, was responsible for the arcade and dome-shaped shrine opposite the chapel at Harrow, the memorial cross at King's Canterbury, and the cloister at Winchester, and was one of the foremost imperial architects of his day. Baker spent some twenty years in South Africa having been given, in his own words, 'the opportunity for an architecture which establishes a nation' and amongst his works are the cathedrals in Pretoria and Johannesburg, Pretoria's railway station, and a medical institute in Johannesburg.<sup>142</sup>

Sir Aston Webb, whose work on the Boer War memorial at Harrow was mentioned in Chapter Four,<sup>143</sup> was the architect for WWI memorials at Christ's Hospital, Denstone

<sup>140</sup> The source for much of the information in this section is Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*.

<sup>141</sup> W. G. Newton, 'Newton, Ernest (1856–1922)', rev. Richard Morrice, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35222, [accessed 31 May 2016].

<sup>142</sup> Daniel M. Abramson, 'Baker, Sir Herbert (1862–1946)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30547, [accessed 31 May 2016].

<sup>143</sup> Chapter Four, *Design and Construction*, page 228.



College, and St. Lawrence College, Ramsgate. He had established his own architectural practice in 1874 and by the turn of the century it was the largest in England.<sup>144</sup> Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, who was apprenticed to Temple Lushington Moore at the time of the South African War, and was therefore of the next generation of distinguished architects, was responsible for the memorials at Downside, Ampleforth, Charterhouse and Beaumont.<sup>145</sup> Temple Moore himself, although primarily known for new church design, was the architect for the memorial tablet at Hurstpierpoint and the cloister at Lancing whilst Sir Reginald Theodore Blomfield, who was also noted for his Boer War commemoration work in Chapter Four, went on to design Great War memorials at Highgate, Derby and Sherborne. It is clear from this impressive list that schools commissioning remembrance work in the 1920s were at pains to employ only the very best architects and designers.

Craftsmen, like Alfred Drury, who executed and built the memorials, were also experts in their field and, of the sixty-six identified, three were also Old Boys. Some others who were engaged in the work additionally had a close connection to the school. F.W. Sargant, for instance, who sculpted the group above the west door of Oakham's memorial chapel, was the headmaster's brother. The carved oak triptych at City of Norwich School was designed by, and completed under the supervision of, the school's art master, whilst another member of staff executed the gun-metal broken

<sup>144</sup> *Alexander Architectural Archive* [Online]University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin. Available: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utaaa/00033/aaa-00033.html> [Accessed 23 October 2017]. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of Aston Webb – he is described in ODND as 'a born leader of men'; he was honoured with the 'royal gold medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects' and the 'inaugural gold medal of the American Institute of Architects' and knighted in 1904.

<sup>145</sup> Gavin Stamp, 'Scott, Sir Giles Gilbert (1880–1960)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35987>, [accessed 1 June 2016].

sword at the centre of the triptych. The sculpture and masonry of the memorial cross at Monmouth Grammar was carried out by Alfred William Ursell, the father of 2<sup>nd</sup>-Lieutenant Victor George Ursell of the Shropshire Light Infantry who was killed in action on Monday 5<sup>th</sup> March 1917.<sup>146</sup> Mercers' School, Holborn, built an organ as a memorial in the school hall, to be used every morning for prayers, and it was designed by Old Boy, and architect, Harry Courtney Constantine.<sup>147</sup> Charles Harold Bicknell, the headmaster at Mercers', constructed the organ entirely from English oak in the school workshop, using the design which Constantine had prepared.

Chapter Five detected a slight change in the social order in that three women were found to have played a part in memorial design whilst just one had been the actual unveiler of a memorial – although in that case the daughter of a mayor who had, probably, been the actual invitee. It might have been expected that, with the passage of additional years, women would be in greater evidence when considering WWI commemoration, but this has not proved to be the case. Only four female craft-persons have been found to have played a part in school WWI memorial design. Mrs Anderson, an art mistress at Hymers College, painted the school arms on a pedimented tablet unveiled at the institution on Armistice Day 1924, and Mrs Meredith Williams carved a figure of St. John the Baptist, and modelled an effigy of St. George, at Rossall School. Mrs Akers Douglas designed the tapestries at Eton and Miss Violet Alice Pinwill carved the memorial choir stalls at Weymouth College, as well as a seat presented to the same establishment by Mrs Margaret Ritson in memory of her

<sup>146</sup> TNA, 1911 Census for England and Wales, census reference RG14PN15642 RG78PN952 RD336SD2 ED2 SN123, piece 15642, and Soldiers died in the Great War 1914-1919.

<sup>147</sup> TNA, 1911 Census for England and Wales, census reference RG14PN694 RG78PN24 RD9 SD2 ED11 SN282, piece 694.

husband Francis, whom she had married only two years before his death in 1917.<sup>148</sup> In 1957, it was said, in an obituary of Miss Pinwill that well over 300 churches in Devon and Cornwall contained examples of her work and a correspondent to *The Times* commented that her achievements were ‘all the more remarkable as she entered a business life at a time when this was a very unusual step for a young woman to take’.<sup>149</sup> With regard to unveiling, the only females to perform the task at the schools investigated were Mrs Adeline Stubley, mother of John Reginald Stubley, whose name appeared on the bronze tablet she unveiled at Silcoates School on Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1920; Mrs T.G. Osborn, mother of a young man commemorated, along with fifty-four others, by a stained-window at Rydal School, and Mrs Almond, a lady whose connection with Loretto School, Musselburgh, when she unveiled an organ screen, was not specified, but who was, presumably, Eleanora Frances Almond, the widow of Hely Hutchinson Almond, a sometime headmaster of that school.<sup>150</sup> Even in the 1920s then, the activities associated with memorialisation in public/private and private schools were very much areas dominated by men.

### *Conclusion*

The First World War memorials in schools were, broadly speaking, on a grander and more elaborate scale than those erected in memory of casualties suffered in the South African War. As Alan Wilkinson has remarked, in relation to First World War remembrance objects and locations generally, ‘the size of the memorials and the importance of their sites indicate that the community believed that it was indeed “the

<sup>148</sup> TNA, England & Wales Marriages 1837-2008, Weymouth, Dorset, volume 5A, p.873.

<sup>149</sup> "Miss Violet Pinwill." *Times* [London, England] 10 Jan. 1957: 13. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 June 2016.

<sup>150</sup> M. C. Curthoys, ‘Almond, Hely Hutchinson (1832–1903)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30397>, [accessed 12 June 2016].

Great War””.<sup>151</sup> Those factors are additional indicators of the depth of emotion felt following the 1918 armistice. There was also a shift toward memorials which served a practical use, halls, libraries, cricket pitches etc., and the introduction of endowments for educational purposes. These moves form part of the reason for WWI unveilings taking more of a centre stage, and taking longer to complete, than those of the South African war. They were furthermore in tune with those who paid the bill; making the task of fundraising easier, as in the particular case of Eton where £107.5K was raised even before the end of WWI compared to the struggle to collect £30K a full six years after the Boer War had terminated.

Some ceremonies were indeed coincided with school celebratory days, as they had been in the first decade of the twentieth century, and preceding or following some occasions there was limited entertainment. The focus however was on memorialisation and the overall mood in the 1920s was darker; more solemn and serious. That seriousness reflected the enormous loss of life, the disillusionment which had set in following the armistice, and the fact that almost every family in the land had, in some way, been affected. A slightly increased percentage of clergy officiated but clergy attended in greater numbers and were invariably present when military men or dignitaries performed ceremonies. The reasons for more clergy attending, and the willingness of schools to accept their attendance, have been thoroughly discussed. It should be once more emphasised here, however, that clergy, together with the established church, were more supportive of the Great War than its

<sup>151</sup> Wilkinson, A., (1978) *The Church Of England And The First World War*, London: SPCK Publishing. p.297.

Boer predecessor and perhaps the relationship between the two groups was therefore more comfortable in the 1920s.

Religion received an immediate boost, both in schools and the country at large, following the lead, after the announcement of an armistice from the eleventh hour of the eleventh month, when parliamentarians and the general public alike flocked to religious ceremonies. This was followed eight months later by a National Thanksgiving Day, observed in all parts of the country by 'Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Nonconformists alike' whilst in London's Trafalgar Square a 'united service' took place and in 'many provincial towns similar inter-denominational gatherings were arranged'.<sup>152</sup> That immediate increase in religious observance, and presumably belief, however, was short-lived as disenchantment with post-war conditions, and the church's strong support for war, developed during the 1920s.

As well as clergy, relatives and friends of the deceased were also seemingly present in greater numbers at WWI memorialisation ceremonies. They took centre stage at Langton Boys' whilst at Fettes there was only room at the memorial dedication in the school chapel for a small number of pupils. The reverend Dr. Andrew Wallace Williamson on that latter occasion took as his text 'Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses'.<sup>153</sup> Had he been speaking at a Boer War commemoration the required witnesses would have been the boys, so that they might be informed of the school's achievements and inspired to a life of duty and

<sup>152</sup> "Nation's Thanks For Peace." *Times* [London, England] 7 July 1919: 17+. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 10 Aug. 2016.

<sup>153</sup> *The Holy Bible*, The Epistle of Paul The Apostle To The Hebrews, chapter 12, verse 1, page 216.

sacrifice. Those two words, duty and sacrifice, were more in evidence at these later commemorations and reference to the importance and benign nature of empire was stressed even more than it had been twenty years earlier.

Empire, as Susan Pedersen remarks, was ‘at its greatest reach’ during the 1920s and ‘under [its] greatest pressure’ during the 1930s.<sup>154</sup> In the speeches made at schools in the immediate aftermath of war, empire was a recurring theme and during 1924/25, at Wembley, it was the subject of ‘the largest and most ambitious [exhibition] ever staged anywhere in the world’<sup>155</sup> Its frequent mention at school unveiling ceremonies indicates that it was seen as a vehicle to provide future employment for many schoolboys together with hope for better times ahead in a period of dissatisfaction and uncertainty. Both Prime Minister and King admitted to that air of disillusionment following WWI and the remedy was seen, particularly in schools, to be associated with empire. Those other two frequently used words ‘duty’ and ‘sacrifice’ were employed to emphasise the opinion that the cost of human life in the war had been worthwhile. In that regard it is worth restating Alex King’s comment, first mentioned on page 294, that the conflict was often justified as being a ‘purgative blood-sacrifice which would cleanse the world not only of political, but also of social and moral evil’.<sup>156</sup> In schools it was seen as a duty to make such a supreme sacrifice in the circumstances which led to the Great War. Changes in the perception of empire and of the concepts of duty and sacrifice were nevertheless on the way, in this period, but in another area change

<sup>154</sup> Pedersen, S., (2011) ‘The Empire Project: The Rise And Fall Of The British World System, 1830-1970, by John Darwin’, in *Victorian Studies*, volume 53, number 2, Winter 2011, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. p.322.

<sup>155</sup> Walthew, K. (1981) ‘The British Empire Exhibition Of 1924’, in *History Today*, vol. 31, issue 8. London: History Today Ltd. p.34.

<sup>156</sup> Walthew, K. (1981) ‘The British Empire Exhibition Of 1924’, in *History Today*, vol. 31, issue 8. London: History Today Ltd. p.130.

would be slow. Memorial design and unveiling were, in WWI commemoration at schools, still very much male-dominated activities with only four female artists and three female unveilers having been found amongst all the schools investigated. It would be another thirty years before *The Times* correspondent could indicate that the step which Miss Pinwill had taken early in the twentieth century, to set up her own wood carving business, had become much more usual.<sup>157</sup>

Memorials and ceremonies were generally more triumphant in the 1920s, taking a lead from such comments as those made by *The Times* and *British Weekly* in the immediate wake of the war and a widely-held view that the enemy was the embodiment of wickedness.<sup>158</sup> St. George, the victorious hero over evil, was a popular memorial choice as were triumphal hymns and music. At Uppingham School the military representatives arriving to perform the opening of a new Great Hall were greeted by a regimental band playing 'See the Conquering Hero Comes'.<sup>159</sup>

At schools generally, it seems that a stronger democracy was at work to decide the form of memorial and the shape of the ceremony arranged for its unveiling. Certainly in the case study of Eton the case for greater democracy has been demonstrated and, because of a new form of memorialisation emerging in the shape of educational provision elsewhere, it appears that a similar shift was wider spread. Ceremonies became more inclusive, but the question of greater democratisation nevertheless needs more work and it will be further discussed in the next chapter.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>157</sup> "Miss Violet Pinwill." *Times* [London, England] 10 Jan. 1957: 13. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 June 2016.

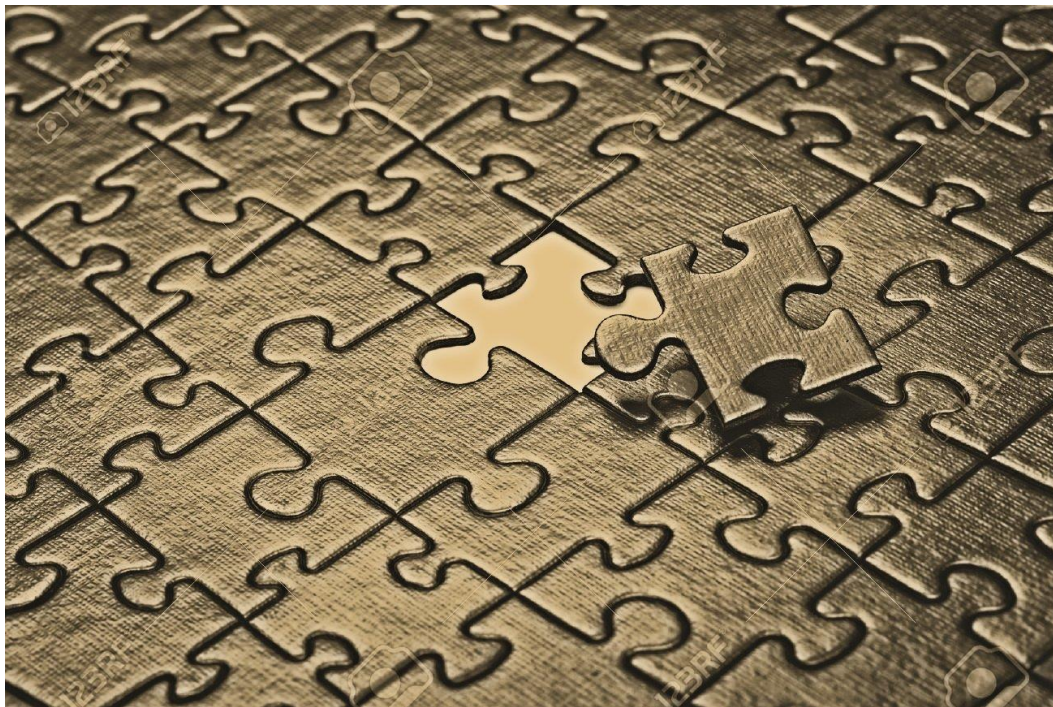
<sup>158</sup> See page 293.

<sup>159</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 117.

<sup>160</sup> *Conclusions and Areas for Future Study*, page 352.



# *Conclusions* **Conclusions** *and* **and** *Areas for Future Study* **Areas for Future Study**



**Putting the pieces together**

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### *Conclusions and Areas for Future Study*

The second Boer War began on Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> October 1899 when Britain rejected an ultimatum to, firstly, withdraw troops from the borders of Transvaal and, secondly, agree that reinforcements bound for the area should not disembark ship. Less than ten weeks later *The Times* was obliged to report that: ‘a critical military situation has arrived’; ‘British arms have been checked’, and ‘our generals are on the defensive’.<sup>1</sup> In one week alone, during the battles of Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso, about 3,000 men had been killed, wounded or captured by the enemy. Against a recent international background of military success without large loss of life, this news was shocking. Many of the men mentioned in this study had already died in the battles listed above, but hundreds more would be inspired to volunteer for service. Additional lives would be lost and an unprecedented desire to create memorials would later sweep through British schools.

This conclusion will begin by looking back at the memorials mentioned in Introduction, and analysed in Chapters One through Five, to assess what they say in terms of attitude, the messages they carried for future generations, and their success as memorials to the school’s dead. The section will then compare similarities and differences between the Boer and WWI memorials found in schools and comment on how that comparison feeds into the central argument. Finally, the chapter will indicate work which could form the basis for future research.

<sup>1</sup> "The Military Situation." *Times* [London, England] 18 Dec. 1899: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 7 Feb. 2018.

### *Attitudes*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century memorialisation was confined to persons of social position and rank and memorials have been found which commemorate survivors of war as well as those who lost their lives as a result. As the century wore on the individual, irrespective of rank or manner of death, began to be recognised whilst any practice of commemorating those who had remained alive following conflict was discontinued. By the time of the Boer War a vocabulary of commemoration had been developed. The principle of equality of sacrifice did not apply in all cases, however, resulting in junior rank not always being mentioned and high rank sometimes receiving greater prominence.

The form which memorials should take, and the words to be inscribed upon them, were matters which received careful consideration in the aftermath of the Boer War. The overall attitude adopted by those that commissioned and designed memorials was that they should convey a feeling of righteousness. The cause, the memorial creators considered, was worthy and just: the battles honest and noble. Factual reasons for the conflict ranged from suzerainty and the rights of Uitlanders,<sup>2</sup> to fears of a dilution in the imperial ideal, national prestige, and the concerns of gold-mining conglomerates. For those whom memorials were erected, however, reassurance as to the righteousness for which their remembered colleagues had fallen was designed to help them come to terms with loss. The great majority of schools in this study were aligned with a religion and it comes as no surprise that the overwhelming number of their memorials were placed in campus chapels where Christian approval of righteousness could be

<sup>2</sup> An Afrikaans word meaning foreigner – mainly British migrants who had arrived in South Africa following the discovery of gold in 1886.

underlined. The attitude of every school which erected memorials was that the war was honourable and necessary and that the dead had faithfully validated the institution's ethos and values.

It must also be said, when discussing the attitude to be read from memorials, that some tell more about the peacetime ambitions of those who commissioned them than the actual reactions of those individuals to war. At Eton, as has been demonstrated, the impressive memorial buildings satisfied one headmaster's long-held desire to address the whole school in one location.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the head at Oxford Preparatory believed that boys should receive practical education at school and the institution acquired a carpenters' shop as part of its tribute to the dead. The study has highlighted other comparable instances where, in the absence of armed conflict in which ex-pupils had died, the ambitions of men harbouring improvement schemes for their school may never have been realised.

### *Messages*

It will be recalled from Chapter Four,<sup>4</sup> that a group of serving officers met on the South African veldt and, in conversation, discovered they were alumni of Beaumont College, Old Windsor. They reminisced about school days and old friends, some, or all, of whom may have been amongst the five whose names appear on the college memorial unveiled in July 1904. The group's thoughts turned to the possibilities of memorialisation and it was their agreed desire that something be erected within the college around which future generations could meet, chat, and be encouraged to duty

<sup>3</sup> Maxwell Lyte, H.C., (1911) *History of Eton College (1440-1910)*, London: Macmillan and Co Limited. p.573.

<sup>4</sup> Page 216.

and bravery. It is apparent that these young men felt that lost lives should be memorialised by their school and that the site created should act as a place where martial inspiration could be found. Names of the men who formed this group are not known. The secretary of the fund eventually set up to realise their dream, however, later commented that ‘the idea met with a ready echo in the hearts of those at home’ and the unveiler of that dream said that it was fitting that those in South Africa ‘should come home, in imagination [to] be held in loving and reverential memory’.<sup>5</sup> Whether or not members of the group returned in imagination or in person remains a mystery.

In many of the schools covered, the depictions on memorials are of saints defeating either earthly or spiritual dragons. At some schools it was enough to represent the champion just in command of a sword whilst at one particular school, Felsted, the defeat scene shows David, a later king of Israel, slaying a bear. The widespread text adopted by schools was the Horatian phrase *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (it is sweet and fitting to die for one’s country). Such depictions as the dragon, sword, and bear align those being memorialised with actual or mythical heroes of the past who successfully battled right against evil. The images inspired viewers to martial service whilst the Horatian quotation sought to assure readers that in such service it was worthwhile to pay even the highest price in defence of strongly held ideals.

Pride is an additional message conveyed by memorials. Oratory School, Woodcote, still proudly displays, in its reception area, a board showing examples of all the medals won by ex-pupils in the course of nineteenth-century wars. Glenalmond and Dover

<sup>5</sup> "Naval & Military Intelligence." *Times* [London, England] 4 July 1904: 11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 22 Mar. 2018.

colleges included 'V C'<sup>6</sup> after names on their memorials whilst Marlborough and Malvern, also as examples, included 'D S O'.<sup>7</sup> Schools, generally, took pride in the number of their alumni engaged in war; in the tally of awards received for courage, and in the number of lives sacrificed (as they saw it) for the principal attitude conveyed by their memorials – righteousness of cause. Records of men serving, wounded and killed, together with details of their awards, were entered to school magazines which can also be considered as sites of remembrance. Schools were proud to circulate copies of their magazines to parallel institutions in an effort to demonstrate that past pupils had valiantly upheld the honour of the school.

### *Success?*

The plaque eventually erected at Beaumont exclusively delivered religious messages. It contained the college motto *Æterna non Caduca* (the eternal, not the earthly); the motto of the Jesuits, *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam* (to the greater glory of God), and *IHS*, a christogram forming an abbreviation for the name Jesus Christ. The huge obelisk erected at Haileybury displays the names of battles for which clasps were awarded. It also shows the school motto: *Fear God, Honour the King*. Uppingham's multi-functional building comprises a gymnasium, concert hall, and armoury with the inscriptions *Res Severa Est Verum Gaudium* (true pleasure is a serious business) over the east apsidal and *Caesorum Comitum Memores* (mindful of our fallen comrades) over the entrance door. Three very different memorials chosen from three very different schools, Beaumont, known as the 'Catholic Eton'; Haileybury, associated with the armed forces, and Uppingham, a progressive school located well north of the

<sup>6</sup> Victoria Cross.

<sup>7</sup> Distinguished Service Order.

London metropolitan area. Each school was happy with its choice of memorial and the overall impression formed of the schools in this study is that all regarded their memorial choice right and successful for their particular school.

It has been pointed out that not all schools adhered to the principal of equality of sacrifice. Wellington, Harrow and Rossall, for instance, mentioned rank in the case of officers but not in the case of private soldiers. In allowing such omissions, the schools left themselves open to criticism although no such disapproval seems to have been aired at the time of unveiling. These memorials, and others like them, must therefore be judged to have successfully incorporated the wishes of those who brought them into being without causing any apparent distress. From my own viewpoint, it will be argued in the next section that the memorials commissioned by schools in the wake of the Boer conflict, together with the speeches delivered at their unveiling, inspired a whole new generation of boys to go to war. If so, the school tenets of duty and sacrifice had been successfully built into the memorials and their presentation.

But to add a final thought to this section I return to the three school examples mentioned above to point out that Beaumont, Haileybury and Uppingham lost 133, 572 and 447 ex-pupils respectively in WWI. The number of alumni from these three schools who fought in the war runs into many more hundreds and there are several possible reasons for their participation. Perhaps they were swayed by the anti-German sentiment which swept Britain, and the continent, in the years leading up to the Great War; perhaps they responded to Kitchener's recruiting campaign; perhaps they feared German invasion; perhaps they felt obliged to make a moral choice; perhaps they just responded to peer pressure.

*Comparisons Boer War/WWI and the central argument*

The types of memorial for which schools opted were found to be very similar when comparing Boer War memorials with those erected in commemoration of WWI casualties, but the degree in which each type was found was different. Monuments; stained-glass windows; improvements to school facilities; tablets and plaques, together with utilitarian projects, all feature in both instances. Memorials became more elaborate and examples at Winchester, Lancing and Leeds have, amongst others, been cited. Buildings which were to provide practical purposes for the future, such as those at Charterhouse, Harrow, and the various schools which erected cricket pavilions, laid playing fields and built swimming baths featured more strongly. Funding schemes to deliver future education, in instances where the family breadwinner had been a victim of the war, were found only in WWI commemoration. Such funding recognised a new reality that a combatant's death in war could result in practical difficulties for those that mourned in addition to the emotional difficulty of coming to terms with their loss.

Memorial type, then, is where difference is to be found and it resulted not only in providing an appropriate response to the enormous loss of life but in schools' strengthening their own positions. Many school facilities were enhanced, and new ones introduced, thus making the institutions a more attractive offering to the parents of future generations. In some cases, very grand building schemes added to the stately appearance of the school. Further, several families with a long tradition of sending their sons to a particular institution were placed in a financial position where that tradition could continue. But it is in the unveiling of the memorials that continuity and similarity are evident and also where the schools were able to add strength. The

identity of the unveilers, military leaders and clergy, remained the same as did the messages of sacrifice, duty and hope which they delivered in their speeches. By the time of WWI, the formulae found by the schools to commemorate their Boer War casualties had inspired a whole new generation of boys to volunteer for war. For that majority of institutions which fell into the public/private category, their post-WWI place as educators of the country's elite, and suppliers of men of character to positions of leadership within the country and empire, had, at least for the time being, been cemented – helped by their attitudes to memorialisation and its presentation.

Deeper comparisons between Boer War and WWI memorials in schools remain to be made but additional research will be required and that is the subject of the next, and last, section of the thesis.

### *Areas for future study*

Chapters One through Five have been primarily concerned with the South African War of 1899-1902. An analysis of the men memorialised at public/private and private schools has been conducted and the methods of memorialisation placed against a longer tradition of remembrance. Commissioning processes, design and unveiling have all been addressed but the focus has essentially remained on that one conflict. Only in Chapter Six has the South African War been briefly juxtaposed with the Great War of 1914-1918. Further, although the British Army in South Africa was reinforced by contingents raised throughout the Empire, the involvement of alumni from schools beyond the British Isles has not been considered. Thesis size limitations provide the reason for the discussion and analysis of topics relating to WWI not having been confronted in the same detailed way as those relating to the Boer conflict. Similarly,



the inclusion of those nineteenth-century schools in Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia which modelled themselves on those considered throughout these chapters, would have considerably lengthened the study.

Two particular areas call for additional attention. Firstly, a change in the process under which memorial projects were chosen has been demonstrated in the Eton case studies where a greater democracy was at work in the wake of WWI than following the Boer conflict.<sup>8</sup> It has been argued that this democratisation was replicated at other schools and, if so, it will be an indicator that the age of the individual, in the person of a headmaster or particular governor, belonged more to the nineteenth century than to the twentieth. Secondly, greater attendance by clergy pervaded many 1920s school ceremonies and the reason, from a clerical viewpoint has been made clear.<sup>9</sup> Religion, according to existing historiography, was in decline following WWI. Nevertheless, the percentage of clergy performing unveilings in the schools studied rose, albeit by less than 3%, yet many more of them attended in support of military, and other, unveilers.<sup>10</sup> Greater acceptance of the war, particularly in the Church of England and its parallels in Wales, Scotland and Ireland, coupled to a hunger to arrest any decrease in religious observance accounts for the increase. The schools' eagerness for an expanded clerical presence, however, is currently not quite so clear. It is possibly accounted for by the belief that the school chapel, together with the activities performed therein, was traditionally looked upon as the institution's beating heart. Schools, almost without exception, were associated with a Christian belief and thus strongly promoted associated values. The importance of those values was apparently

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter Six, *The Future of Commemoration*.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See table at page 311.

seen in sharper focus following WWI as schools struggled to come to terms with the huge loss of alumni life. Clergy underlined a moral code which included obedience, duty, and, particularly, the biblical idea of self-sacrifice. A hypothesis has therefore been put forward that schools felt those qualities were underlined by being agreeable to allowing greater clerical participation.

In these two instances, then, there remains work to be done. The more we discover, the more questions remain.

## *Epilogue - Alex Fitch*<sup>1</sup>



Cecil Alexander Gordon Fitch was born on Wednesday 8<sup>th</sup> March 1899, the only son of barrister Cecil Edwin Fitch and his American wife Lillian Mabel, née Gordon.<sup>2</sup> As he shared the same first Christian name as his father, the young Fitch became known as Alex.

Alex Fitch, like Charles Toller mentioned in *Prologue*, grew up in an advantaged environment. At the time of the 1901 census he was living with his parents and four servants in the Hampstead area of London.<sup>3</sup> By the time of the next census, that of 1911, the family had partly moved to Gloucestershire and were occupying a twenty-eight-room mansion near the market town of Minchinhampton.<sup>4</sup> Alex now had a sister, Audrey, and a live-in tutor. Audrey had her own governess whilst Mrs Fitch

<sup>1</sup> Permission to use image obtained from WW1cemeteries.com@hotmail.co.uki. 2018. Permission request. 27 March. Email to: Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>2</sup> TNA. Westminster Marriages.

<sup>3</sup> TNA. 1901 England, Wales & Scotland Census, Archive reference RG13, Piece number 124, Folio 88, Page 44.

<sup>4</sup> TNA, 1911 England, Wales & Scotland Census, Census reference RG14PN15403 RG78PN935 RD327 SD7 ED8 SN116, RG78 code number 935, Piece number 15403.

had acquired a female companion and several additional servants. Alex's father, in addition to his barrister duties, had become a councillor for Putney Ward and was, at the time of the census, inhabiting a nineteen-room residence at Wimbledon where he employed his own staff.<sup>5</sup>

Alex attended Lambrook, Bracknell, and Harrow schools. He became head of his house, and a 'promising science scholar', at the latter where he was twice a member of the winning pair for the Torpid Shooting Cup, and once of the Silver Arrow Competition.<sup>6</sup>

Any man over the age of eighteen who had been privately educated was considered to be junior officer material in WWI thus when Alex joined the Royal Garrison Artillery in August 1917 he did so as a 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant.<sup>7</sup> He was sent to the front in March 1918: he died six months later, on Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup> September, of wounds received in action, and was buried at Brie British Cemetery on the Somme.<sup>8</sup> Harrow School erected a memorial building in remembrance of the 646 of its alumni who perished in WWI. It was opened by Prime Minister Baldwin on Thursday 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1926 and within the building is a space named the Alex Fitch Room, decorated with historic items having a Harrow connection.<sup>9</sup> The room was donated by Alex's mother in memory of her son.

<sup>5</sup> TNA, 1911 England, Wales & Scotland Census, Census reference RG14PN2401 RG78PN80 RD26 SD7 ED10 SN104

<sup>6</sup> "Deaths." *Times* [London, England] 30 Sept. 1918: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 26 Mar. 2018.

<sup>7</sup> TNA. WO 339/101441, War Office: Officers' Services, First World War.

<sup>8</sup> TNA. Soldiers died in the Great War 1914-1919, 260/S B.

<sup>9</sup> "News in Brief." *Times* [London, England] 3 June 1926: 14. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 26 Mar. 2018.

Alex Fitch and Charles Toller were separated at Harrow School by a period of twenty years. Charles had just passed his twenty-second birthday when he died; Alex was just over nineteen-and-a-half. Both were one of a kind, coming from a privileged background and being privately educated. Both are memorialised at Harrow, Charles by a tablet in the chapel; Alex by the elaborate room which contains his portrait, permanently lit since 1926, apart from being extinguished during the hours of darkness in WWII to comply with blackout regulations. This thesis has shed light on many similar men, all eventually victims of those instincts of duty and ‘play the game’ acquired during their years at school.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Introduction*, page 48.

## Appendix A – List of Schools covered by this study

### *All-male Schools*

School/College name	Region	County	Location
Aldenham	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Elstree
All Hallows	England (S)	Devonshire	Honiton
Alley's	England (S)	Greater London	Dulwich
Ampleforth	England (M & N)	North Yorkshire	York
Aravon *	Ireland	Dublin	Rathmichael
Ardingly	England (S)	West Sussex	Haywards Heath
Ardvreck	Scotland	Perthshire	Crieff
Ayr	Scotland	Ayrshire	Ayr
Banbridge	Ireland	Down	Banbridge
Bandon Grammar	Ireland	Cork	Bandon
Bangor Grammar	Ireland	Down	Bangor
Beaumont	England (S)	Berkshire	Old Windsor
Bedford Grammar	England (S)	Bedfordshire	Bedford
Belfast Boys' Model	Ireland	Antrim	Belfast
Belvedere	Ireland	Dublin	Dublin
Berkhamsted	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Berkhamsted
Birkenhead	England (M & N)	Merseyside	Liverpool
Bishop's Stortford	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Bishop's Stortford
Blackrock *	Ireland	Dublin	Dublin
Bloxham	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Banbury
Blundell's	England (S)	Devonshire	Tiverton
Bootham	England (M & N)	North Yorkshire	York
Bradfield	England (S)	Berkshire	Reading
Bradford Grammar	England (M & N)	West Yorkshire	Bradford
Brighton	England (S)	East Sussex	Brighton
Bristol Grammar *	England (S)	Bristol	Bristol
Bromsgrove	England (M & N)	Worcestershire	Bromsgrove
Burton Grammar	England (M & N)	Staffordshire	Burton-on-Trent
Bury Grammar	England (M & N)	Greater Manchester	Bury
Caldy Grange	England (M & N)	Merseyside	Wirral
Cambridge County High	England (S)	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge
Campbell	Ireland	Antrim	Belfast
Cargilfield	Scotland	Midlothian	Edinburgh
Carlisle	England (M & N)	Cumbria	Carlisle
Castleknock	Ireland	Dublin	Castleknock
Catholic University	Ireland	Dublin	Dublin
Charney Hall	England (M & N)	Lancashire	Grange-over-Sands
Charterhouse *	England (S)	Surrey	Godalming
Chatham House	England (S)	Kent	Ramsgate
Cheltenham *	England (S)	Gloucestershire	Cheltenham
Chertsey Handicraft	England (S)	Berkshire	Reading
Chigwell	England (S)	Essex	Chigwell
Christ	Wales	Powys	Brecon
Christ's Hospital	England (S)	West Sussex	West Horsham
City of London	England (S)	Greater London	London
City of Norwich	England (S)	Norfolk	Norwich
City of Oxford	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Oxford

School/College name	Region	County	Location
Clifton *	England (S)	Bristol	Clifton
Clongowes Wood *	Ireland	Kildare	Clane
St. Columba's *	Ireland	Dublin	Whitechurch
Colston's *	England (S)	Bristol	Stapleton
Cranbrook	England (S)	Kent	Cranbrook
Cranleigh	England (S)	Surrey	Cranleigh
Crypt	England (S)	Gloucestershire	Gloucester
Dean Close	England (S)	Gloucestershire	Cheltenham
Denstone *	England (M & N)	Staffordshire	Uttoxeter
Derby	England (M & N)	Derbyshire	Derby
Dover	England (S)	Kent	Dover
Downside	England (S)	Somersetshire	Bath
Dragon *	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Oxford
Drogheda Grammar	Ireland	Louth	Drogheda
Dulwich	England (S)	Greater London	Dulwich Common
Dundalk Grammar	Ireland	Louth	Dundalk
Durham	England (M & N)	Durham	Durham
Eastbourne	England (S)	East Sussex	Eastbourne
Edinburgh	Scotland	Midlothian	Edinburgh
Elizabeth	Dependencies	Channel Islands	Guernsey
Elstree	England (S)	Berkshire	Reading
Epsom	England (S)	Surrey	Epsom
Eton *	England (S)	Berkshire	Windsor
Exeter	England (S)	Devonshire	Exeter
Farnborough Hill	England (S)	Hampshire	Farnborough
Felsted	England (S)	Essex	Felstead
Fettes	Scotland	Midlothian	Edinburgh
Foyle	Ireland	Londonderry	Londonderry
Framlingham	England (S)	Suffolk	Framlingham
Friends'	Ireland	Antrim	Lisburn
Giggleswick	England (M & N)	North Yorkshire	Settle
Glasgow	Scotland	Strathclyde	Glasgow
Glenalmond Trinity	Scotland	Perth and Ross	Glenalmond
Gordon's	England (S)	Surrey	Woking
Gresham's	England (S)	Norfolk	Holt
Haberdashers' Aske's	England (S)	Greater London	Hampstead
Haberdashers' Aske's	England (S)	Greater London	Hatcham
Haileybury	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Haileybury
Harrow *	England (S)	Middlesex	Harrow on the Hill
Headfort	Ireland	Meath	Kells
Hele's	England (S)	Devonshire	Exeter
Hereford Cathedral	England (M & N)	Herefordshire	Hereford
Highgate	England (S)	Greater London	London
Hurstpierpoint	England (S)	West Sussex	Hurstpierpoint
Hymers	England (M & N)	E Riding of Yorkshire	Hull
Ipswich	England (S)	Suffolk	Ipswich
Kelly	England (S)	Devonshire	Tavistock
Kendrick *	England (S)	Berkshire	Reading
Kilkenny	Ireland	Kilkenny	Kilkenny
King Edward VI	England (S)	Suffolk	Bury St Edmunds
King Edward VI	England (M & N)	West Midlands	Birmingham
King Edward VI	England (S)	Hampshire	Southampton

School/College name	Region	County	Location
King Edward VII	England (S)	South Yorkshire	Sheffield
King William	Dependencies	Isle of Man	Castletown
King's	Ireland	Dublin	Palmerstown
King's Canterbury	England (S)	Kent	Canterbury
King's Cathedral	England (S)	Worcestershire	Worcester
King's Chester	England (M & N)	Cheshire	Chester
King's Wimbledon	England (S)	Greater London	Wimbledon Common
King's Ely	England (S)	Cambridgeshire	Ely
King's Rochester	England (S)	Kent	Rochester
Kingswood	England (S)	Somersetshire	Bath
Lancashire Royal	England (M & N)	Lancashire	Lancaster
Lancing	England (S)	West Sussex	Lancing
Leeds Grammar	England (M & N)	West Yorkshire	Leeds
Leighton Park	England (S)	Berkshire	Reading
The Leys *	England (S)	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge
Liverpool	England (M & N)	Merseyside	Liverpool
Llandovery	Wales	Carmarthenshire	Llandovery
Loretto	Scotland	East Lothian	Musselburgh
Magdalen	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Oxford
Maidstone Grammar	England (S)	Kent	Maidstone
Malvern	England (M & N)	Worcestershire	Malvern
Manchester Grammar	England (M & N)	Greater Manchester	Manchester
Marlborough	England (S)	Wiltshire	Marlborough
Mercer's	England (S)	Greater London	Holborn
Merchant Taylors'	England (M & N)	Merseyside	Liverpool
Merchant Taylors'	England (S)	Greater London	Northwood
Merchiston Castle	Scotland	Midlothian	Edinburgh
Mill Hill *	England (S)	Great London	Mill Hill Village
Monkton Coombe *	England (S)	Somersetshire	Bath
Monmouth Gram *	Wales	Monmouthshire	Monmouth
Newbridge	Ireland	Kildare	Newbridge
Newcastle-on-Tyne	England (M & N)	Tyne and Wear	Newcastle-on-Tyne
Newcastle-under-Lyme	England (M & N)	Staffordshire	Newcastle-under-Lyme
Newport (Adams')	England (M & N)	Shropshire	Newport
Newport Road	England (S)	Greater London	Leyton
Newtown	Ireland	Waterford	Waterford
Northampton Town	England (S)	Northamptonshire	Northampton
Nottingham High	England (M & N)	Nottinghamshire	Nottingham
Oakham	England (M & N)	Rutland	Oakham
Oundle	England (S)	Cambridgeshire	Peterborough
Owen's	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Potters Bar
Perse	England (S)	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge
Plymouth (Mannamhead)	England (S)	Devonshire	Plymouth
Portora Royal	Ireland	Fermanagh	Enniskillen
Portsmouth Grammar	England (S)	Hampshire	Portsmouth
Queen Elizabeth's	England (S)	Bristol	Clifton
Queen Elizabeth Grammar	Wales	Carmarthenshire	Johnstown
Radley	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Abingdon
Reading *	England (S)	Berkshire	Reading
Reed's	England (S)	Surrey	Cobham



School/College name	Region	County	Location
Repton	England (M & N)	Derbyshire	Repton
Rossall	England (M & N)	Lancashire	Fleetwood
Royal and Prior	Ireland	Donegal	Raphoe
Royal Armagh	Ireland	Armagh	Armagh
Royal Belfast	Ireland	Antrim	Belfast
Royal Cavan *	Ireland	Cavan	Cavan
Royal Dungannon	Ireland	Tyrone	Dungannon
Royal Hibernian	Ireland	Dublin	Dublin
Royse	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Abingdon
Rugby	England (M & N)	Warwickshire	Rugby
Rydal Penrhos	Wales	Conwy	Colwyn Bay
Sedbergh	England (M & N)	Cumbria	Sedbergh
Sherborne	England (S)	Dorsetshire	Sherborne
Shrewsbury	England (M & N)	Shropshire	Shrewsbury
Silcoates	England (M & N)	West Yorkshire	Wakefield
Simon Langton Boys' *	England (S)	Kent	Canterbury
Sligo Grammar	Ireland	Sligo	Sligo
St. Albans	England (S)	Hertfordshire	St Albans
St. Andrew's	Wales	Pembrokeshire	Tenby
St. Bees	England (M & N)	Cumbria	St Bees
St. Clare Preparatory	England (S)	Kent	Upper Walmer
St. Columb's	Ireland	Londonderry	Londonderry
St. Edmund's Salisbury	England (S)	Wiltshire	Salisbury
St. Edmund's Canterbury	England (S)	Kent	Canterbury
St. Edmund's Ware *	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Ware
St. Edward's	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Oxford
St. George's	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Harpenden
St. John's	England (S)	Surrey	Leatherhead
St. Lawrence	England (S)	Kent	Ramsgate
St. Mary's	England (M & N)	West Midlands	Sutton Coldfield
St. Ninian's	Scotland	Dumfries & Galloway	Moffat
Sts. Olave & Saviour *	England (S)	Kent	Orpington
St. Paul's	England (S)	Greater London	London
St. Peter's	England (M & N)	North Yorkshire	York
Stamford	England (S)	Lincolnshire	Stamford
Stationers'	England (S)	Middlesex	Hornsey Vale
Stonyhurst	England (M & N)	Lancashire	Clitheroe
Sutton Valence	England (S)	Kent	Maidstone
Taunton	England (S)	Somersetshire	Taunton
Tettenhall	England (M & N)	West Midlands	Wolverhampton
The Grange	England (S)	Kent	Folkestone
The London Oratory	England (S)	Greater London	London
The Oratory *	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Woodcote
Thomas Rotherham	England (M & N)	South Yorkshire	Rotherham
Tonbridge	England (S)	Kent	Tonbridge
Trent	England (M & N)	Derbyshire	Long Eaton
University College	England (S)	Greater London	Hampstead
Uppingham	England (M & N)	Rutland	Uppingham
Victoria	Dependencies	Channel Islands	Jersey
Villiers	Ireland	Limerick	Limerick

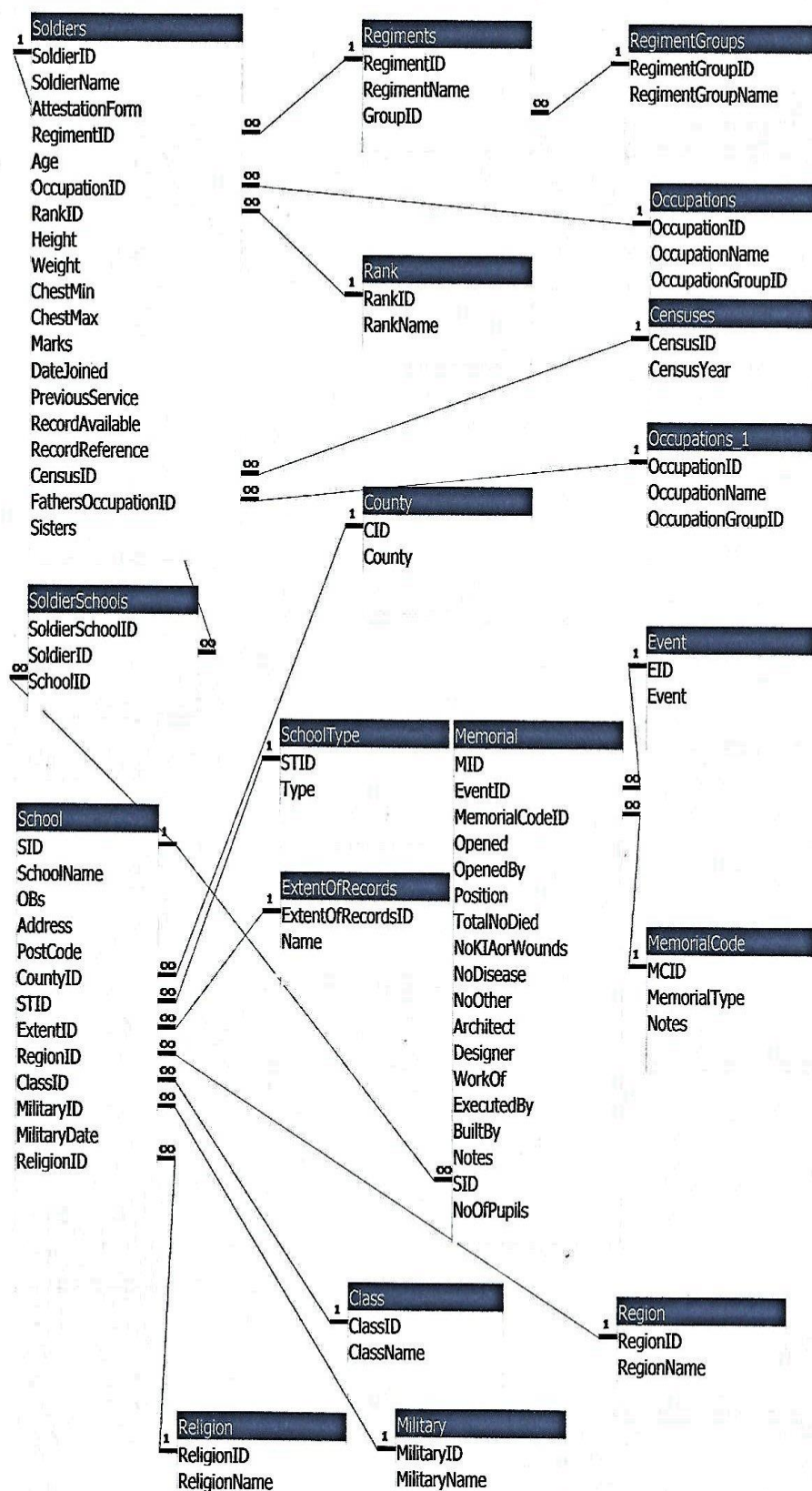
School/College name	Region	County	Location
Wakefield Grammar	England (M & N)	West Yorkshire	Wakefield
Warwick	England (M & N)	Warwickshire	Warwick
Wellingborough	England (S)	Northamptonshire	Wellingborough
Wellington College	England (S)	Berkshire	Crowthorne
Wellington School	England (S)	Somersetshire	Wellington
Wells Cathedral	England (S)	Somersetshire	Wells
Wesley *	Ireland	Dublin	Ballinteer
West Drayton	England (S)	Greater London	West Drayton
Westminster	England (S)	Greater London	Westminster
Weymouth	England (S)	Dorsetshire	Weymouth
Whitgift Grammar	England (S)	Surrey	South Croydon
Wilson's Hospital	Ireland	Westmeath	Multifarnham
Winchester *	England (S)	Hampshire	Winchester
Windlesham House	England (S)	West Sussex	Pulborough
Wolverhampton Grammar	England (M & N)	West Midlands	Wolverhampton
Worcester Grammar	England (M & N)	Worcestershire	Worcester
Worksop	England (M & N)	Nottinghamshire	Worksop
Wygggeston Grammar	England (M & N)	Leicestershire	Leicester

### *All-female Schools*

School/College name	Region	County	Location
Cheltenham Ladies'	England (S)	Gloucestershire	Cheltenham
Badminton	England (S)	Bristol	Bristol
St. Catherine's	England (S)	Surrey	Bramley
Roedean	England (S)	East Sussex	Brighton
Mount Anville *	Ireland	Dublin	Dublin
Woldingham	England (S)	Surrey	Woldingham
Craiglockhart	Scotland	Midlothian	Edinburgh
Mount Catherine's	Ireland	Armagh	Armagh
Sacred Heart	Ireland	Tipperary	Roscrea
St. Joseph's	Scotland	Aberdeenshire	Aberdeen
Kilgraston	Scotland	Perthshire	Bridge of Earn

\* Schools visited.

## Appendix B – Database layout



## Appendix C - Rank Categories and Individual Ranks <sup>1</sup>

<b>Privates</b>		<b>266</b>
	Privates	143
	Troopers	113
	Field Dressers	1
	Linesmen	1
	Trumpeters	1
	Sappers	3
	Drummers	2
	Drivers	1
	Rangers	1
<b>Corporals</b>		<b>52</b>
	Corporals	36
	Lance-Corporals	15
	Acting-Bombardiers	1
<b>Sergeants</b>		<b>44</b>
	Sergeants	42
	Lance-Sergeants	2
<b>Warrant Officers</b>		<b>9</b>
	Sergeants-Major	4
	Quarter-Master-Sergeants	2
	Colour Sergeants	2
	Veterinary Sergeant	1
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenants</b>		<b>93</b>
	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lieutenants	92
	Extra ADC staff	1
<b>Lieutenants</b>		<b>290</b>
	Lieutenants	290
<b>Captains</b>		<b>197</b>
	Captains	196
	Captain-Surgeon	1
<b>Majors</b>		<b>62</b>
	Majors	53
	Brevet-Majors	7
	Brigade-Majors	1
	Hon-Majors	1
<b>Senior Ranks</b>		<b>36</b>
	Major and Hon-Lieutenant-Colonels	1
	Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonels	3
	Lieutenant-Colonels	19
	Lieutenant-Generals	1
	Colonels	12
<b>Total number of individuals</b>		<b>1,049</b>

<sup>1</sup> As mentioned on page 120, these rank classifications, broadly, follow emblems of authority on the clothing [www.army.mod.uk/BritishArmyStructure](http://www.army.mod.uk/BritishArmyStructure) provides details.

# Chapter Five

## *Unveiling Ceremonies*



**Clifton College, Bristol**

**Unveiling Ceremony performed by Lord Methuen on Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> June 1904**

**Photograph supplied by Dr. Charles Knighton, School Archivist, 21<sup>st</sup> January  
2011**

## *Chapter Five - Unveiling Ceremonies*

### *Introduction*

Unveiling ceremonies at public and private schools provided, as Peter Donaldson has noted, opportunities to validate school values through the actions of the dead.<sup>1</sup> Casualties of the Boer War were portrayed as having exhibited such characteristics as loyalty, manliness, honour, truthfulness, independence, and patriotism, by laying down their lives in, what was perceived as, the just, and rightful, cause of empire. Schools prided themselves, and built their reputations, upon the belief that these desirable qualities were acquired during a pupil's journey through the months and years spent within their boundaries. In addition to the ambition to deliver high educational standards, schools were keen to demonstrate that their particular system provided preparation for a life which would reflect all of these values, and additionally include a willingness to sacrifice that life should such course of action, in defence of worthy beliefs, be deemed necessary.

Those officiating at unveilings were presented with an audience which might comprise the bereaved, parents of present pupils, the pupils themselves, friends of the school, past pupils, staff, and parents of future pupils. The primary role of the unveilers, however, was not to ease the bereavement of any family/friends present. Rather, the opportunity was taken to validate school values, elevate the institution's status, and provide new faith and hope in the imperial mission. Those being memorialised had learned their codes of conduct at school and had taken them out into the wider world

<sup>1</sup> Donaldson, P., (2013) *Remembering The South African War: Britain and the Memory of the Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to the present*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, and Donaldson p., (2013) 'The Commemoration of the South African War (1899-1902) in British Public Schools', in *History & Memory*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2013), Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.



for the benefit of the imperial nation and the continuing good reputation of the school. Bravery and commitment, even to the point of death in war, was considered proof of the character-forming influence of the school. Ceremonies were therefore designed to emphasise the institution's role in the moulding of desirable characteristics in young men. Unveilings were frequently planned to coincide with such important events in the school calendar as prize-giving or Founder's Day when the mood would be principally one of celebration.

In addressing the subject of school unveiling, then, the atmosphere in which the events took place will first be examined, using a number of examples. Next will follow a statistical analysis to show who performed unveilings, when and where they took place, and the religious affiliation and location of the schools involved. Unveilings generally performed in the public sphere will also be considered so as to provide a comparative view. Having effectively set the statistical background the main body of the chapter will consider the unveilers themselves under the headings Military, Clergy and Other. A final section will analyse the loyalty relationship between monarchy and religion, at the time of the Boer conflict and its commemoration, as the wartime mood of willingness to volunteer was very much one based on a cause for God, King and Country. It was a frame of mind, as will be demonstrated, which all the unveilers wished to perpetuate into the post Boer War years.

### *Commemoration atmosphere.*

All of the commemoration events demanded, of course, a solemn, serious, and ceremonious approach, but, because in many instances they were held on school days of celebration, the overall character of those occasions was considerably lighter than

might be expected, even to the point where remembrance of the dead war overshadowed by other aspects of the day. It should be remembered that an armistice took effect from Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> May 1902, and that most casualties occurred well before that date. The passage of time, therefore, had an effect on the prevalent mood at various unveiling ceremonies and must partly account for the fact that there appears to have been a minimal amount of sympathy and condolence offered, on these occasions, to the bereaved. As noted previously, however, the *first* purpose of those officiating was to advance the status of the school rather than to alleviate grief.

Bloxham School was originally named All Saints' but, as it is located on the north side of the village of Bloxham, Oxfordshire, it has become known by that name. All Saints' Day, 1<sup>st</sup> November, is a traditional time of celebration for the school and by 1879 it had established an All Saints' festival which stretched the celebration beyond just a single day. The 1<sup>st</sup> November that year was a Saturday, and activities began with Evensong the night before, during which a sermon was preached. They continued next day with a lunchtime address by the headmaster, and an afternoon concert.<sup>2</sup> Twenty-five years later, in 1904, the festival was remarkably similar. Activities commenced the previous evening and, on the day itself, the headmaster made a lunchtime speech, although the afternoon entertainment comprised a comedic play rather than a concert. The school's memorial had been unveiled the night before, but no mention was made in the headmaster's address of the five casualties which the school had suffered. Instead, he mainly used his talk to thank 'everyone who had helped to make the day a bright and jolly one for the masters and boys' and 'the preacher for his kindness in

<sup>2</sup> *Bloxhamist*, December 1879, vol. V, no. 50, pp. 108-109.



coming [the previous evening] to give them such an excellent sermon'.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the Provost made use of the few words allowed him, following the lunch, to congratulate the headmaster, and his staff, on their work, and to add his own thanks to the preacher. The emphasis at Bloxham, then, was one of celebration with the memorial unveiling taking up a small part of the weekend activities.

That feeling of incidentalness comes through from other unveiling ceremonies which were arranged to coincide with a special day in a school's calendar. Bristol Grammar chose to invite General Sir William Butler to distribute shooting prizes to the institution's cadets and, at the same time, unveil a handsome brass plaque, mounted on oak, commemorating those who had died, or taken part, in the war. Sir William arrived whilst a musical programme was in full swing and his speech was light-hearted, in places, and provoked some laughter. The local newspaper commented that 'in a considerable degree the proceedings were in the nature of a pleasant re-union of former students and their friends'.<sup>4</sup> At Bury Grammar, in October 1911, two years outside of the range covered by a graphic to be presented at the foot of page 252, the Earl of Derby distributed prizes and unveiled two large bronze tablets, one commemorating a life lost in July 1880, during the second Anglo-Afghan War; the second a death in the Matebele War of 1896, and then two more in the second Boer War.<sup>5</sup> The most recent death had occurred on Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1900 – over eleven years prior to the Earl unveiling the plaques.<sup>6</sup> The reason for the late ceremony at Bury is not recorded, but it may be presumed that the South African War deaths

<sup>3</sup> *Bloxhamist*, November 1904, vol. XXX, no. 290, pp. 49-50.

<sup>4</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Friday 5 February 1904.

<sup>5</sup> *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* – Friday 20 October 1911.

<sup>6</sup> TNA, Anglo-Boer War records 1899-1902. WO100/168. P.111. 5602 Private John Rothwell died aboard the S.S. Simla of wounds received at Spion Kop on Wednesday 24<sup>th</sup> January 1900.

prompted an investigation into any other alumni who should probably be commemorated for the part they played in war. The process to discover those individuals would have needed to be thorough, with the result that it was necessarily lengthy – certainly lengthy enough for any grief to have subsided, thus allowing this and other ceremonies to be more celebratory than lugubrious. The late commemoration at Bury of casualties in conflicts other than the Boer War seems to have stirred that particular school into prompt action several years later when it unveiled its Great War memorial just over five years after the armistice.

Prize Day 1904 was the occasion for Major J.S.M. Shea to unveil a window and cross at Sedbergh School, to six Old Serberghians who fell in South Africa, but it was far from being the only activity that day. Sir Francis Sharp Powell, who had been part-educated at the school, laid the foundation stone of the ‘new great hall and class rooms’, distributed prizes, and ‘spoke at some length on the distinction of Sedbergh ... and education matters generally’.<sup>7</sup> Major Shea then presented medals to marksmen in the rifle corps, and the headmaster spoke of the progress of the school to over 200 guests whom he had invited for lunch. During the afternoon, a cricket match was held, and the assembled crowd was additionally treated to a performance by the King’s Own Regimental Band. Once again, the memorial unveiling seems to have been a background event.

Some few months after the Sedbergh celebrations, *The Times* reported that the Archbishop of Canterbury was to have presented prizes at Whitgift Grammar School, Croydon, on Thursday 17<sup>th</sup> November 1904, but was unable to do so on account of

<sup>7</sup> *Lancashire Daily Post* – Thursday 21 July 1904.

continued indisposition. In the Archbishop's absence, 'the prizes were distributed by the Bishop of Croydon, who *also* unveiled a memorial tablet to Whitgift old boys who fell in the South African War', (*italics added*).<sup>8</sup> In a similar incident, several members of the royal family descended on Wellington College on Monday 17<sup>th</sup> June 1907, the visit being reported by *Western Daily Press* under the heading 'New Hall Opened By King'. The occasion was speech day, but the newspaper obviously considered the opening of a new dining hall for boys and prefects to be the main event. Its reporter went on to describe the presentation of 'special prizes' and, '*later in the day*' the unveiling of 'a bronze memorial' (*italics added*).<sup>9</sup> It was also a speech day which brought the Archbishop of Canterbury to Radley College on Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> June 1904 and during the visit he opened an addition to the school buildings and unveiled two Boer War memorials – one a privately-given stained-glass window and the other, the alabaster monument of St. George bestriding a vanquished dragon, already discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis,<sup>10</sup> and paradoxically described by *The Times* as 'particularly pleasing in its severe simplicity'.<sup>11</sup> These unveilings were followed by a distribution of prizes, lunch, and speeches, during which reciprocal toasting by the Archbishop and the Governing Body took place, and the day was finally rounded off by 'a large garden party, with glees from the school choir, and evening service'.<sup>12</sup>

The unveiling of a statue of St. George at Clifton College, Bristol, took place on Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> June 1904 and was performed by Lord Methuen. It is the subject of the

<sup>8</sup> "Court Circular." *Times* [London, England] 18 Nov. 1904: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 18 Nov. 2015.

<sup>9</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Tuesday 18 June 1907.

<sup>10</sup> Chapter Four, *Design and Construction*, page 211.

<sup>11</sup> "School Speech Days." *Times* [London, England] 30 June 1904: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 Mar. 2018.

<sup>12</sup> "School Speech Days." *Times* [London, England] 30 June 1904: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 18 Nov. 2015.

picture reproduced at the head of this chapter and it presents as being a major event, possibly demanding the attention of all those concerned for the whole day. Clifton is governed by an elected Council which, having accepted a design recommended by the college memorial committee, summoned the architects and sculptor to one of its meetings, with a view to obtaining further information and discussing an unveiling timetable. The guests present at the meeting undertook to have the monument ready by ‘the [1904] date of the Guthrie Commemoration’,<sup>13</sup> – an annual event at the college, first held on 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1868, and being an occasion to remember:

the building of the Chapel and of John Guthrie and Caroline, his wife, its founders, and all other “founders and benefactors, by whose benefit this whole school is brought up to Godliness and good learning”.<sup>14</sup>

At the beginning of June 1904, *Western Daily Press* had announced that, as noted below, the 25<sup>th</sup> of that month would be a busy day at Clifton College:

In addition to the Guthrie Commemoration service and the customary cricket match between the College team and Old Cliftonians, there will be a prize distribution in the afternoon, and the Old Cliftonians’ memorial to their comrades who fell in South Africa is to be unveiled by Lord Methuen.<sup>15</sup>

The college clock, in the photograph on page 239, reveals that the Union Jack fell from the monument at 3.45 p.m., so the unveiling took place late in the day, once all of the other business had been concluded.

Speech Day at Derby School, the following year, was reported upon by *Nottingham Evening Post*, which commented that it had been ‘rendered more than usually interesting ... by the unveiling of a memorial to fallen Derbyans by the High Sheriff, Colonel R.W. Chandos-Pole’.<sup>16</sup> The newspaper seems to have thought, from the way

<sup>13</sup> CCA. Minute Book ‘Memorial Old Cliftonians’, p.176.

<sup>14</sup> Trafford, C., (ed.) (2009) *The Best School Of All: 150 Years Of Clifton College*, London: Third Millennium Publishing Limited, a subsidiary of Third Millennium Information Limited. p.181.

<sup>15</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Friday 3 June 1904.

<sup>16</sup> *Nottingham Evening Post* – Monday 31 July 1905.

it arranged its headline, that the main business to be conducted was the awards presentation by Mrs Chandos-Pole and indeed that part of the proceedings must have taken up considerable time as honours were distributed in eleven categories to fifty-seven recipients and involved ten prize-presenters in addition to the Colonel's wife. A further nineteen individuals who had in some way distinguished themselves also merited a mention. Small wonder, then, that *Nottingham Post's* reporter came away with the impression that the principal purpose of the day was to celebrate academic and career achievement rather than to unveil a tablet to the victims of war.

At a few other institutions unveiling *was* a single event. At Framlingham College, for example, the memorial took the form of a new pulpit, above which had been placed a brass tablet, so this was not so much an unveiling occasion as an opportunity for a first-time address from the new preaching facility. Early in the afternoon of Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> May 1904 Old Framlinghamians, parents, and friends of those who had served and died in South Africa, took their places at the back of the school chapel to witness a lengthy and solemn occasion. First to arrive, once all guests were seated, were the boys, numbering about 300 in all, then followed by members of the Cadet Corps together with their instructors. Next came the choir accompanied by six reverend gentlemen then, when everyone was in place, music was played, and solos, anthems, and hymns were sung before one of the clergymen mounted the new pulpit to deliver a sermon. The unveiling at Framlingham seems to have been the most ceremonious and focused of all the similar occasions investigated by this study.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Framlingham Weekly News* – Saturday 14 May 1904.

In September 1904, Lord Methuen unveiled an unusual plaque at Kendrick School, Reading. It consisted of three panels – the central one bearing the inscription ‘This Roll of Honour is erected to those Old Kendricks who died Heroes’.<sup>18</sup> At the top of the left-hand panel appear three alumni names, one who fell in the Chitral Campaign of 1895 and the other two, men who died in the South African War. Whilst this unveiling was a single event, in the sense that it did not coincide with any school celebration, it did commemorate those who died in two conflicts. Further, *The Times* reported the memorial as being ‘in memory of old Kendrick boys who have fallen, *or may hereafter fall*, in the service of their country’ (italics added), and, in that expectation, most of the left-hand panel, and the whole of the right-hand, was left as blank, grey, Swedish granite.<sup>19</sup> Those spaces have now, regrettably, been filled with the names of alumni who perished in subsequent wars.

Kendrick’s ceremony, unlike that at Framlingham, had been secular in nature. Other secular, and single-case events, were the unveilings performed by Lord Roberts at Uppingham School on Thursday 30<sup>th</sup> March 1905 and at St Paul’s School, Hammersmith Road, on Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup> May 1906. The unveiling at University College School was also secular and this will be further discussed a little later.<sup>20</sup> It was more usual, however, to have a religious dimension through a combination of military man and clergyman, with either one performing the actual unveiling and one, or sometimes both, making the speeches. Nevertheless, in the majority of the occasions studied, the mood was celebratory and cheerful, and the unveiling ceremonies were a complementary, rather than the principal, part of the proceedings. The main purpose

<sup>18</sup> Noted at Reading School, where the plaque now resides, during a visit on Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> June 2016.

<sup>19</sup> “Naval & Military Intelligence.” *Times* [London, England] 24 Sept. 1904: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 24 Nov. 2015.

<sup>20</sup> Pages 279/280.

of those celebratory days was, of course, not only to highlight academic, or sporting, or soldierly, achievements and sacrifices, by the awarding of prizes and cups, and the unveiling of memorials, but to draw attention to the institution which had established the background against which all such good and heroic activity had taken place.

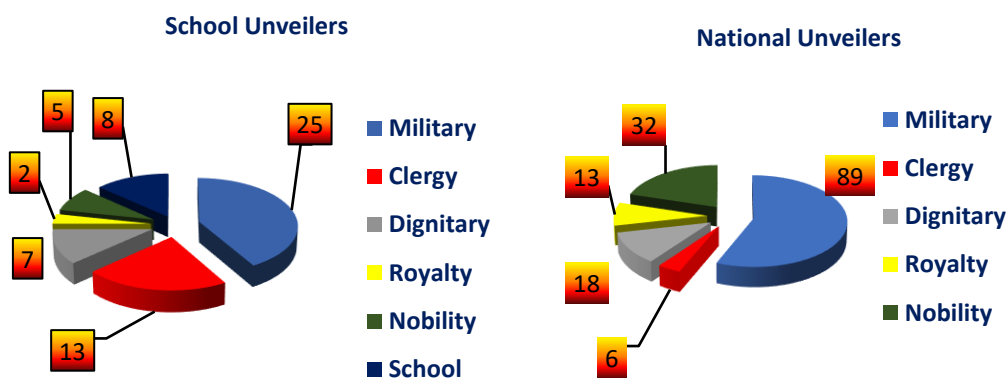
The point can be reinforced by mention of the unveiling at St. Edmund's College, Ware, which took place on Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> October 2013. It is a school which will be referenced on page 252 as being outside the scope of the unveilings graphic, and it provided a rare opportunity to witness such a ceremony in contemporary times. Edmund's had discovered that some men who perished in the Indian Mutiny, the Crimean, First Matabele, Second Boer, and First- and Second- World wars, as well as in the Northern Ireland conflict, had not previously been commemorated at the College, and it decided to commission a tablet to rectify the omissions. A programme was produced for the day which included a history of the institution, a background to the memorial, and the men being remembered, and a Service of Dedication. Invited guests, amongst whom I was privileged to be numbered, were given an internal and external tour of the college by the archivist and treated to a drinks reception and lunch by the headmaster, with various other school officials being on hand to discuss, and answer questions on, what St Edmund's had to offer as an educational establishment. The mood, as it had been elsewhere over one hundred years previously, was overall celebratory but sombre during the actual dedication ceremony.

On such occasions unveiling speeches and other addresses, whilst coming at the audience from different starting directions, could deliver messages of praise for the school as well as remembering casualties of war or recognising achievement through

prize distribution and the awarding of scholarships. At the most basic level, then, the ceremonies discussed were a justification for a particular school's existence, and an encouragement for the parents of current and potential pupils to consider that school as a suitable place at which to educate, and mould, their offspring. Invited unveilers, however, also had an agenda of their own and they will be the subject of discussion immediately following a presentation of the statistical basis upon which the remainder of this chapter is based.

### *Statistical Analysis*

Military men and clergy account for just under two-thirds of those who performed the sixty unveiling ceremonies investigated for this chapter, but other sections of the community, such as local celebrities, or those with a particular connection to the school, were also involved. In addition to these ceremonies 158 others were located in *The Times* by using the search word 'unveil' through the years 1900-1909 inclusive and, again, the proportion being performed by military men and clergy amounts to just above sixty percent. The split between those two *Times* groups of unveilers, however, was different and a full breakdown of all the groups, both in the school instances and others is presented in graphic form below.



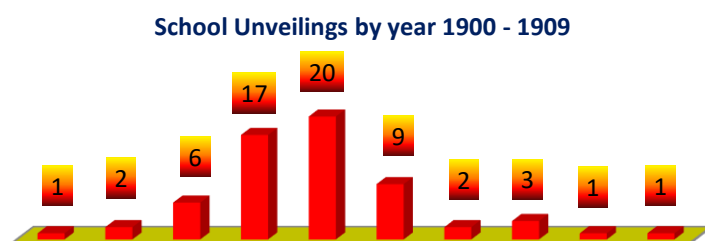


Military personnel, coloured blue, were the first choice, in the schools covered by this study, to perform unveilings, the next largest group being clergy, coloured red. In many instances, however, both military and clergy participated in the ceremony although in all cases the actual unveiling responsibility was given to just one person. Next came school personnel – headmasters, old boys etc., coloured dark blue; followed by local dignitaries, comprising businessmen, city mayors, and the like, coloured grey. Members of the nobility, green, came next and, lastly, (and presumably because they wanted to reserve themselves for only the most prestigious occasions), members of the royal family, yellow. In the case of the other unveilings, termed ‘national’ in the chart on the right of the previous page, military personnel, blue, were again the first choice but clergy, again coloured red, only unveiled in less than 4% of the 158 newspaper reports. Not too much, however, should be read into that, at first glance, surprising statistic. Colonel W.H. Long, commanding the Royal Wilts Imperial Yeomanry, for example, unveiled a memorial tablet at Warminster Church on Saturday 16<sup>th</sup> June 1902 in memory of members of his regiment but it was at the end of a service conducted by vicar Reverend H.R. Whytehead.<sup>21</sup> Similarly Major-General H.E. Belfield unveiled a tablet at the Grosvenor Club, Piccadilly, on Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> June 1907, commemorating past club members, but prayers were offered by the Dean of Hereford. Major-General Henry Cook, club president, commented that ‘it was appropriate that an officer who had distinguished himself in the war should perform the ceremony’<sup>22</sup> and this sentiment, along with a natural desire to involve senior figures connected with any unit being commemorated, seems to mostly account for the large ‘national’ percentage of military unveilers.

<sup>21</sup> “The Army In South Africa.” *Times* [London, England] 16 June 1902: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 7 Mar. 2016.

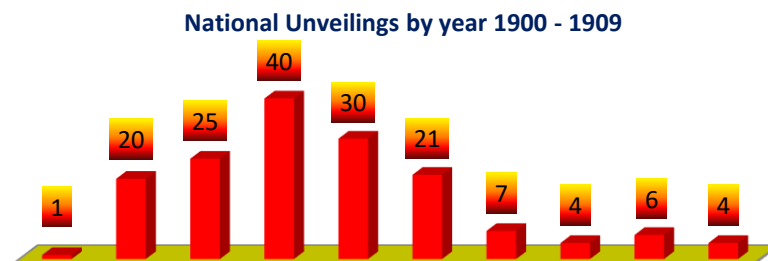
<sup>22</sup> “Naval And Military Intelligence.” *Times* [London, England] 12 June 1907: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 7 Mar. 2016.

Even so, men of the cloth were prominent figures in the schools covered by this study, including several of the headmasters, so it is to be expected that this group would probably feature in school unveiling ceremonies to a greater extent than in the wider ‘national’ context. The earliest school unveilings were in 1900/1901, during which years the war was still in progress, subsequently building through 1902/1903 to a peak in 1904. Ceremonies then petered out as the decade progressed but there were two schools, Bury Grammar and St. Edmunds’, Ware, whose ceremonies fell outside the range of this graphic and those particular institutions, and the reasons for their late commemoration, will be discussed later on. It might be noted that sixty-two unveilings are covered meaning, when referring back to the previous chart, that there were four occasions upon which the identity of the unveiler is unknown.



The pattern in the 158 ‘national’ ceremonies is similar except that activity peaked one year earlier, in 1903, indicating that the schools in this study took slightly longer to put their memorialisation plans in place than the national average indicated in *The Times*. In common with the schools, however, some ‘national’ ceremonies extended beyond 1909, the first being at Chelmsford where a memorial to the officers and men of the Essex Regiment was unveiled on New Year’s Day 1910.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> “Naval And Military Intelligence.” *Times* [London, England] 3 Jan. 1910: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 7 Mar. 2016.



111 of the schools in this study are known to have erected memorials, but unveiling dates are only available in sixty-four cases and the identity of the unveiler in only sixty. The main reasons for the gaps are that some records have been lost over the passage of time whilst others were not created in the first place. A somewhat sad, but not unique, response from Cargilfield Preparatory School indicates that in a few instances further information may be awaiting discovery:

Over the years the archive has not received much attention ... while there is a cupboard which contains boxes of old records and photographs nobody knows what is in there or where to start looking.<sup>24</sup>

It seems odd that a school should not record memorial detail, but the erection of a small plaque or tablet might not necessarily have been an elaborate affair. A report in *The Times*, part-quoted below, indicates that, nationally, casual unveilings could take place with no particular piece of information being documented:

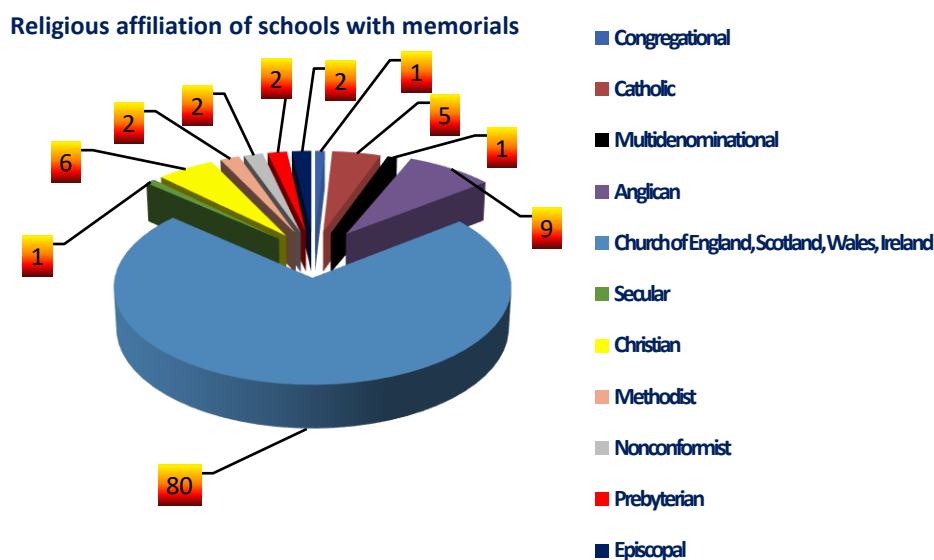
Upwards of 200 members of the service companies of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> V.B. Northumberland Fusiliers arrived at Newcastle-on-Tyne from South Africa at 7 o'clock yesterday morning ... Dinners, concerts, and torchlight processions were organized, and tablets recording their services were unveiled.<sup>25</sup>

Turning now to the religious affiliations of the 111 schools known to have erected memorials, the chart appearing on the following page shows that eleven

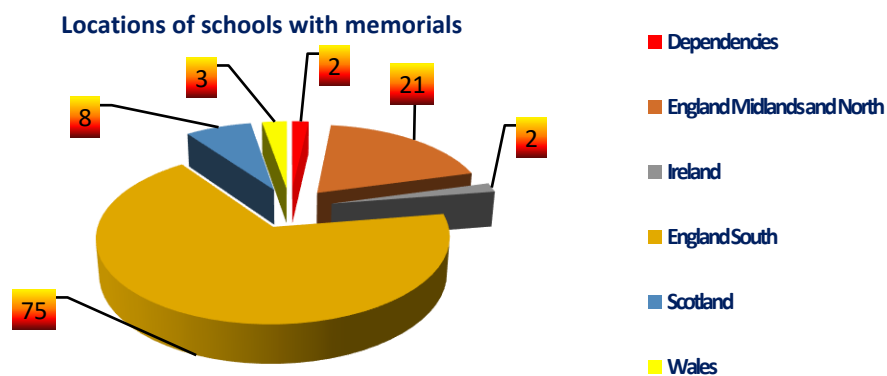
<sup>24</sup> Young, Cate (admin@cargilfield.com), 2013. *Re your enquiry*. 23 January. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>25</sup> "The War." *Times* [London, England] 22 May 1901: 12. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016.

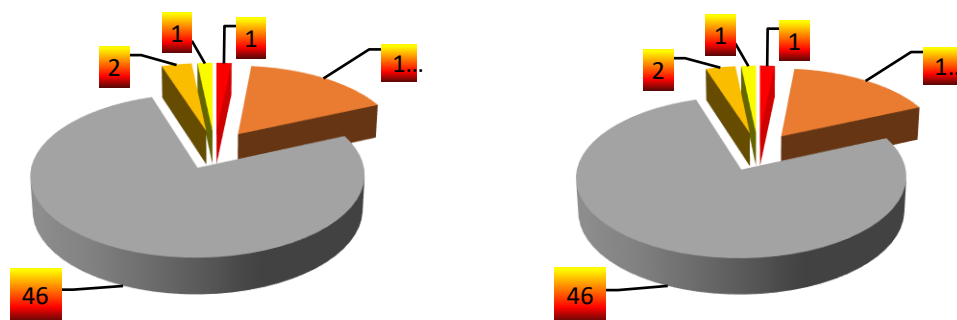
denominations were involved, the majority of them being within the Protestant tradition.



The location of these 111 schools is shown in the following graphic and it demonstrates that erection of memorials was widespread throughout the British Isles.



If the previous two graphics, religious affiliation (top) and location (bottom), are run against just the sixty schools for which unveiling dates and unveilers are known, the results are very much the same, as demonstrated in the two charts shown overleaf:



In the left-hand chart, showing religious affiliation, Congregational and Methodist have dropped out and in the right-hand, showing location, Ireland no longer appears. London Orphan Asylum, Watford, is the Congregational establishment whose memorial information is unknown and the two Methodist schools which failed to record complete unveiling details are The Leys, Cambridge, and Kingswood School, Bath. Kingswood just mentioned in their July 1904 magazine ‘a new brass has recently been placed in the Senior Schoolroom ... in honour of the Old Boys who fell in the Boer War’,<sup>26</sup> whilst Leys commemorated four ex-pupils by means of a brass placed in a chapel not built until 1906.<sup>27</sup>

Of the 158 ‘national’ unveilings located in *The Times* only five took place in Ireland, four in the Ulster Province of the island and one in Dublin (Leinster Province).

The first decade of the twentieth century saw an increase in Irish nationalism and the paper more commonly reported unveilings connected with Irish rising, revolution and

<sup>26</sup> *Kingswood Magazine*, July 1904, p.138.

<sup>27</sup> Harding, John (jch@theleys.net), 2012. *Re Boer War Research*. 20 June. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie)

rebellion.<sup>28</sup> The bizarre case of one Hugh Carbery, who was killed fighting *against* the British at the battle of Modderspruit deserves a mention. A monument was erected to his memory at the Roman Catholic Cemetery Armagh, and unveiled, in June 1902, by Michael Davitt, an Irish republican member of parliament, and himself a supporter of the Boer cause. In January 1903, however, two natives of Armagh, who knew Carbery well, reported having recently seen him alive and well in Pretoria. Further, correspondence was received from Carbery asserting that he was ‘never killed at all’ and requesting ‘the loan of a five-pound note’ which, he wrote, could be raised by selling the memorial at auction as he had ‘no present use for statuary’.<sup>29</sup>

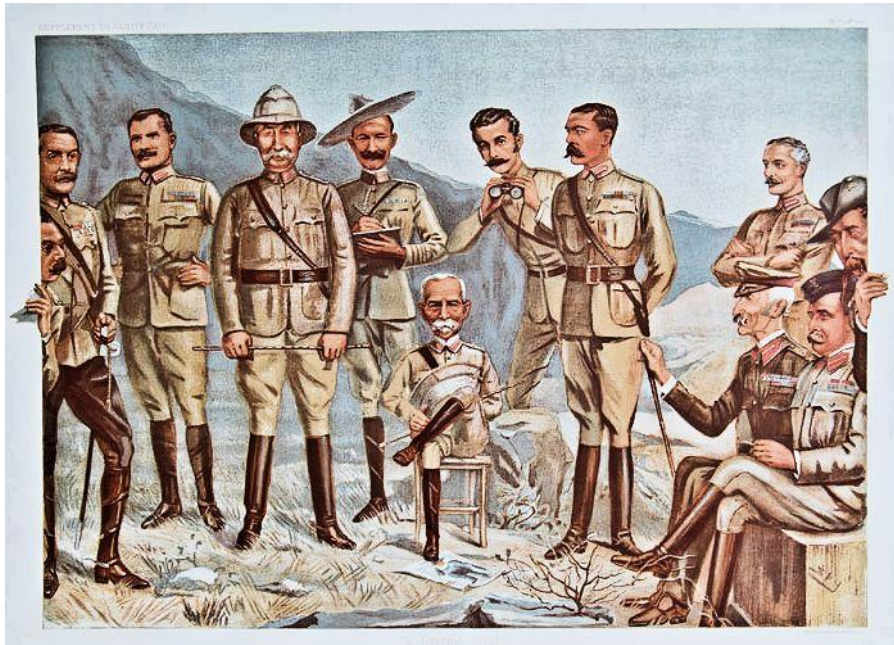
This anecdote only adds to the comparative research in this section a flavour of the London appetite for a good Irish commemoration story in the aftermath of the South African War and at a time when Home Rule for Ireland was vaguely back on the agenda. The rest of the section has effectively set the statistical scene and against this background it is now time to consider the unveilers themselves, starting with the largest group, men of the military.

<sup>28</sup> “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 25 Nov. 1904: 5. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 16 Apr. 1900: 5. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 17 Sept. 1902: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 9 May 1904: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 1 Aug. 1905: 12. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 7 Aug. 1905: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 10 Sept. 1906: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 8 Oct. 1906: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016 and “Ireland.” *Times* [London, England] 1 Sept. 1909: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016.

<sup>29</sup> *St. James’s Gazette* – Friday 23 January 1903.

## *The Unveilers*

### *Military Men*



**Lord Roberts and his commanders. From *Vanity Fair*, Thurs 29<sup>th</sup> November 1900, Caricaturist: Spy; Source: Wikimedia Commons.**

Recruiting for the South African War had exposed a general national unpreparedness, in that a high percentage of recruits were found to be in poor physical condition, and therefore not acceptable for service. In the public/private schools, however, sporting activities were encouraged whilst kitchen and medical staff were employed to look after the boys' physical wellbeing – and this against the widely-enjoyed home background of nurses and cooks established in Chapter Two. The result was that the ex-public/private pupil recruits covered by this study were, mostly, in much better than average physical shape. Military men were nevertheless anxious to ready young men for possible future conflict by stressing the importance of physical fitness; encouraging training in drill and the use of weaponry whilst impressing on the schoolboys they addressed that they would likely become officers with a responsibility to lead by example.

All but one of the military unveilers to be discussed in this chapter were of a very high rank. The highest, Lord Roberts, had been in overall command of the forces in South Africa and was Commander-in-Chief of the British Army from September 1900 until the post was abolished in 1904. This section will demonstrate that he was the most popular military unveiler and argue that the others followed his lead in formulating their unveiling addresses.

Brian Robson describes Roberts as ‘one of the most famous men of his era, immensely admired, a popular imperial hero – celebrated in biographies, verse, pottery, and picture postcards’.<sup>30</sup> Roberts unveiled school memorials at St Paul’s, Winchester, Glenalmond and Uppingham plus twenty-three of the 158 ‘national’ ceremonies discovered in *The Times*. He was also present at a number of other commemorations where memorials were unveiled by his colleagues. During just the year 1906 Roberts officiated at locations as far apart as the Chelsea Embankment,<sup>31</sup> and Falkirk<sup>32</sup> where, because of the high demand on his time, the authorities had to wait several months for him to perform their ceremony. That procedure had originally been scheduled for early summer but at a meeting of the Falkirk War Memorial Committee, held in the town’s Drill Hall on the evening of Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup> May 1906, a letter from Roberts, indicating that he would not now be available until autumn, was read.<sup>33</sup> The fine sculpture of two Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, in bronze, on a rough rubble granite pedestal, was, as promised, officially unveiled by the earl on Saturday the 19<sup>th</sup> of October. The delay, however, had caused some embarrassment as the monument

<sup>30</sup> Brian Robson, ‘Roberts, Frederick Sleight, first Earl Roberts (1832–1914)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35768, [accessed 14 Jan 2016].

<sup>31</sup> *Cheltenham Chronicle* – Saturday 30 June 1906.

<sup>32</sup> *Edinburgh Evening News* – Friday 19 October 1906.

<sup>33</sup> *Falkirk Herald* – Wednesday 30 May 1906.



had been ready since May and an objection to its being hidden beneath a tarpaulin in the centre of town for any length of time had resulted in an unceremonious initial unveiling by the sculptor himself on the evening of Friday 1<sup>st</sup> June.<sup>34</sup> It is an example of the lapse of time between death and memorialisation perhaps allowing the sculpture to become more important than the men whose names were inscribed upon it.

Schoolboys, in particular, received Roberts as a hero, the reason being that he was seen, from his heroic past in Afghanistan, as possessing, in abundance, characteristics of courage, patriotism and manliness, qualities which they, the boys, were most encouraged to acquire during their educational years. Manliness, in particular, is a word which occurs in many addresses to late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century pupils, as well as in popular adventure stories by the likes of George Alfred Henty, as already noted in Chapter Four.<sup>35</sup> During the period of the second Boer War, 11<sup>th</sup> October 1899 to 31<sup>st</sup> May 1902, the word appears fifty-six times in *The Times*, whereas in the similar period 11<sup>th</sup> October 1982 to 31<sup>st</sup> May 1985, presently the last year for which the paper is available online, it occurs only twelve times. Manliness was therefore an expression much in fashion at the time of these memorial unveilings and a quality highly admired in those perceived to have possessed it. The term also extended to ‘muscular Christianity’,<sup>36</sup> and it therefore came to encompass all of the qualities which were seen as most desirable in late-Victorian and early-Edwardian male youth. The Boys’ Brigade, founded in 1883, albeit as a working-class organisation, neatly put together all of those qualities with which schools wished to

<sup>34</sup> *Falkirk Herald* – Wednesday 6 June 1906.

<sup>35</sup> Chapter Four, *Memorial Design and Construction*, pages 203/204.

<sup>36</sup> A phrase which, according OED, originates in *The National Magazine*, June 552/2, 1853.

furnish their pupils, and which the pupils themselves looked for in their heroes, in its stated objective:

The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness.<sup>37</sup>

Almost equally as popular as Roberts, in the matter of ceremonial performance, was his fellow Old Etonian, and friend,<sup>38</sup> Lord Methuen, who unveiled memorials at Clifton, Sherborne and Kendrick schools. Many of the senior military unveilers, as might be expected, had a connection to Roberts, but, apart from Methuen, only two of those investigated, Major-General Robert George Kekewich, who performed a ceremony at Marlborough, and Lieutenant-General Sir Ian Standish Monteith Hamilton, who unveiled a tablet at Glenalmond, appear to have had a positive relationship with the Commander-in-Chief. Kekewich successfully defended the diamond-mining town of Kimberley from Sunday 15<sup>th</sup> October 1899 to Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> February 1900, and won praise from Roberts for his skilful conduct,<sup>39</sup> whilst Hamilton had seen active service with Roberts, dating back to the second Anglo-Afghan War of 1878-1880, and was widely regarded as his protégé.

The objective of schools in inviting military unveilers was to introduce the boys to men who had been involved in war and were seen, like Roberts, to possess manliness. Wherever possible schools, because they also wished to emphasise their own success, invited a past pupil to perform the task, and Kekewich, being a Marlburian, a high-ranking officer, and a close colleague of Roberts, was the ideal choice for Marlborough

<sup>37</sup> *Glasgow Herald* – Monday 23 April 1894.

<sup>38</sup> C. T. Atkinson, 'Methuen, Paul Sanford, third Baron Methuen (1845–1932)', rev. Roger T. Stearn, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35003>, [accessed 14 Jan 2016].

<sup>39</sup> C. V. Owen, 'Kekewich, Robert George (1854–1914)', rev. M. G. M. Jones, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34262>, [accessed 14 Jan 2016].

College. Other schools were also able to involve successful Old Boys, or men with a connection of some kind, and these will be identified as the chapter progresses. Roberts, by the time of most unveilings, had interested himself in the National Service League, an organisation keen to introduce conscription, and was issuing warnings throughout the country,<sup>40</sup> and in the House of Lords,<sup>41</sup> that there had been a national unpreparedness at the outbreak of war in 1899. He asserted that such a situation needed immediate attention so as to safeguard against possible future hostilities. Roberts missed no opportunity to promote the cause of preparedness probably starting, in a public/private school context, with an address given at Winchester College during his laying of the memorial gateway foundation stone on Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> October 1902. At that ceremony, Roberts hoped that the college would continue to encourage boys to enter the army and that 'rifle-shooting and gymnastic exercises might not be neglected'.<sup>42</sup> It was a theme which all of the military unveilers would employ in their various speeches and this uniform state of affairs, in my own opinion, would not have occurred without Roberts taking a firm lead amongst his colleagues to persuade them that they should seize unveiling opportunities to promote military preparedness.

Roberts, whilst extremely popular at home, had been the subject of some criticism from other military leaders during the South African campaign.<sup>43</sup> He, in turn, had

<sup>40</sup> For example, in an address to a special meeting of members of the London Chamber of Commerce reported as: "Lord Roberts On Imperial Defence." *Times* [London, England] 2 Aug. 1905: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 Jan. 2016.

<sup>41</sup> For example, at a sitting on Monday 10<sup>th</sup> July 1905 on the topic of Home Defence, reported in House of Commons Parliamentary Papers.

<sup>42</sup> "Lord Roberts At Winchester." *Times* [London, England] 10 Oct. 1902: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 Jan. 2016.

<sup>43</sup> Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Kelly-Kenny (who unveiled at Stonyhurst) blamed Roberts for inadequate supplies at Poplar Grove. Field-Marshal Sir Henry Evelyn Wood, (unveiler at Beaumont) was also critical of the Commander-in-Chief and passed that criticism on to Leo Amery for use in his *Times History of the War in South Africa*.

been critical of several of them so, at the end of the conflict, some degree of bad blood must have existed between the Commander-in-Chief and his colleagues.<sup>44</sup> Following the armistice, Roberts had ample opportunity to meet those other leaders in his travels around the country to attend commemorative events. It is thus my belief that during that time he kept them firmly abreast of his concerns for preparedness and used his powers of persuasion to put any differences behind them and ensure that military speeches, at least those delivered to public/private schools, were remarkably similar.

Robson part-describes Roberts as ‘manipulative’ and ‘on occasions devious’<sup>45</sup> and the Earl’s private papers indeed reveal a duplicitous eagerness to seize opportunities to keep abreast of military thinking in Europe, even after he left the War Office in February 1904. The following example, which took place less than seven years before the start of WWI, will demonstrate the point. It will also show why Roberts was so keen to spread his message that Britain needed to prepare, even against an apparent enthusiasm, at that time, by both population and establishment, for Wilhelm II, Emperor of Germany.

General Sir Henry de Beauvoir de Lisle, who had been recognised by Roberts as a leader of mounted troops during the war,<sup>46</sup> was invited to Berlin in early September 1907, as one of a party of British officers and as a guest of the German Emperor. His

<sup>44</sup> Roberts had been critical of General Sir John French (who unveiled at Haileybury); Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Henry Fitzroy Paget (unveiler at Bedford Grammar); General Sir William Forbes Gatacre (Felsted School) and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Kelly-Kenny (Stonyhurst).

<sup>45</sup> Brian Robson, ‘Roberts, Frederick Sleigh, first Earl Roberts (1832–1914)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35768, [accessed 22 March 2016].

<sup>46</sup> Stephen Badsey, ‘Lisle, Sir (Henry de) Beauvoir De (1864–1955)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/63736, [accessed 22 March 2016].

visit was to witness autumn manoeuvres, but, judging from a letter he wrote Roberts two months later, he spent the majority of his time discussing the possibility of war. de Lisle begins his letter by saying that Roberts had asked him, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, to set down his views on, what he, Roberts, termed, the German Danger. de Lisle proceeded to do so in about 1,400 words spread over nine pages which he finished on Friday the 15<sup>th</sup>. These dates are significant. The German Emperor and his wife, together with a large entourage, made a state visit to Britain that November and on the 11<sup>th</sup> Roberts and de Lisle, in the company of the Prince of Wales, the German Ambassador, and others, travelled by special train to Portsmouth to meet and greet the guests. It was a glittering occasion during which the Emperor, dressed in the uniform of a British Admiral of the Fleet, and the Prince, similarly attired in a German Admiral's uniform, inspected guards of honour, against a background of cheering crowds and saluting warships.<sup>47</sup> The visitors then proceeded to Windsor Castle where they stayed until the weekend and during that time the Emperor conferred various honours, amongst them a second class of the Order of the Red Eagle on de Lisle.<sup>48</sup>

Both Roberts and de Lisle had been 'specially attached by the King to their imperial majesties the German Emperor and Empress' and had been with them throughout their stay. de Lisle nevertheless found time to handwrite his letter during this period and, under his signature at the end he wrote, 'Windsor Castle' and '15 November 1907'.<sup>49</sup> If the Emperor had hoped to gain any friends during the visit, he certainly failed with General de Lisle. The letter states 'it is an undeniable fact that the British are hated in

<sup>47</sup> "The German Imperial Visit." *Times* [London, England] 12 Nov. 1907: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 30 Jan. 2016.

<sup>48</sup> "The German Imperial Visit." *Times* [London, England] 13 Nov. 1907: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 30 Jan. 2016.

<sup>49</sup> TNA, WO105, Lord Robert's papers. Letter from Sir Henry de Beauvoir De Lisle to Lord Roberts dated 11<sup>th</sup> November 1907.

Germany'; 'the Emperor's absorbing ambition is military fame'; 'with a man of his determination ... it is more than likely that ... Germany would not hesitate from conscientious scruples to land troops in England'; 'the general belief [in Germany] is that War is almost certain to take place in the near future'; and 'for the past 10 years, the naval and military energy in Germany has been directed with a view to a possible war with England'.<sup>50</sup> Roberts was not slow to react to de Lisle's letter. He received it on a Friday and as early as the following Tuesday he resigned his position as President of the National Defence Association, presumably in order to concentrate on reinforcing his message of preparedness during his travels around the country. The following few examples now demonstrate the cohesiveness, in terms of messages delivered, between those military men who performed unveiling ceremonies at Manchester Grammar, Marlborough, Haileybury, Bedford, Repton and Felsted.

The lowest ranking military unveiler, covered by this study, was Captain W.H.S. Nickerson of the Royal Army Medical Corps who, as a Lieutenant, had been awarded the Victoria Cross for an act of courage at Wakkerstroom. He, along with Lieutenant-Colonel George Wright, unveiled the plaque at Manchester Grammar; both men were old Mancunians. Colonel Wright, following the speech pattern of first endorsing the school, opened his address, to a large gathering of invited guests and schoolboys past and present, by saying that 'old history and traditions' were important factors 'in the building up of esprit de corps, which was of such value and gave such high tone to a school'.<sup>51</sup> Wright went on to observe that a powerful Navy, and an efficient Army, were indispensable to retain possession of a mighty empire; to advocate military

<sup>50</sup> TNA, WO105, Lord Robert's papers. Letter from Sir Henry de Beauvoir De Lisle to Lord Roberts dated 11<sup>th</sup> November 1907.

<sup>51</sup> *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* – Saturday 24 September 1904.

training in schools; and to argue that every boy should be taught how to handle a rifle and should pass through the ranks of the Volunteers. Captain Nickerson endorsed Wright's remarks and added that, whatever career paths the boys chose to follow they should not forget their duty to help defend the country. The only unusual part of both speeches was that the Boers were cited as examples of men who could shoot and ride well; examples which, in those respects, the boys could not do better than follow.

Similarly, Major-General Kekewich told the pupils at Marlborough that it was the duty of every boy and man to train himself to be an efficient defender of his country and added that he would 'like to see drill and the art of war taught in every school'.<sup>52</sup> Sir John French, in unveiling the obelisk at Haileybury, mentioned that the qualities needed 'when in a tight place' were not 'Heaven born', but 'cultivated, improved, and trained', and he congratulated the college on having added 'fresh lustre' to its, already 'bright', 'escutcheon' by reason of 'those who had fallen in the war'.<sup>53</sup> Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Paget told the boys in his audience, at Bedford, that they 'came from good fighting stock, and a good fighting school'.<sup>54</sup> The school had a junior training corps and when they went on to university they could pass into a senior corps and thus ensure that the country was able to defend itself. 'There were many ways of dying', the Lieutenant-General continued, but if the boys had 'the bad luck to be killed', they would have the satisfaction to know that 'their schoolfellows, relations and friends' would put up 'tablets to their memory' and they 'would be regarded as

<sup>52</sup> "Naval & Military Intelligence." *Times* [London, England] 24 Mar. 1903: 5. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 18 Jan. 2016.

<sup>53</sup> "Naval & Military Intelligence." *Times* [London, England] 27 July 1903: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 18 Jan. 2016.

<sup>54</sup> *Bedford Times and Independent* – Friday 30 July 1909.

heroes'.<sup>55</sup> Whether or not Paget's rather insensitive inurement to death provided any comfort to boys contemplating a military career is not recorded.

In addressing the pupils at Repton, Lieutenant-General Sir Neville Lyttelton issued a reminder that many men had died of disease. It was not, therefore, 'the bullet, the bayonet, the sword, or the shell that they had to dread most when they went into action, but dysentery, enteric, and other fevers'.<sup>56</sup> The General said that he knew well, however, that those foes would not deter British soldiers, or officers, from taking their fair share of the dangers their country might call upon them to face. In this case the reaction *is* recorded as the comments were enthusiastically greeted by cries of hear, hear. General Gatacre's message to the pupils of Felsted was that he looked upon 'military training as the best thing to bring out all that was best in a boy'.<sup>57</sup> He thought it evident that, from the great number of well-trained and memorable men the school had sent into the world, that a high tone was being maintained.

In many of these instances, schools greeted their unveiling guests with a show of their own military strength, as if to demonstrate that they were already well attuned to the messages likely to be delivered. At Haileybury, French inspected 250 college cadets, whilst the cadet number greeting Kekewich at Marlborough was 220, and Roberts at St. Paul's, 150. At Bedford, cadets lined the galleries of the School Hall, whilst a guard of honour, formed of cadets dressed in khaki, greeted Gatacre at Felsted. Buglers of the Repton Cadet Corps sounded *The Last Post* at that school's unveiling,

<sup>55</sup> *Bedford Times and Independent* – Friday 30 July 1909.

<sup>56</sup> *Derby Daily Telegraph* – Friday 17 June 1904.

<sup>57</sup> *Essex County Chronicle* – 4 December 1903.



and at Clifton College the strength, quality and earnestness of the cadet corps can be gauged from the photograph reproduced at the head of this chapter.

It has been seen that the peak period for unveilings occurred in the years 1903, 1904 and 1905 and these, coincidentally, were the years in which military men would have found a great deal of fuel for the idea that schools should teach young men martial skills and treat alumni who had perished as shining examples of manliness, selflessness and courage. The report of a Royal Commission into the War in South Africa, published at the beginning of this period, found it evident that ‘the defence of the Kingdom, so far as it may depend upon an internal well-trained and organized military force was [at the time of the South African War] dangerously weak’; it also found that morale, courage, endurance, discipline and cheerfulness ‘under adverse circumstances, left little or nothing to be desired’.<sup>58</sup>

Whatever their differences with one another, military unveilers, drawing support from the National Service League, the Royal Commission, and particularly, in my own view, from Lord Roberts, were able to speak with a single voice when called upon to perform ceremonies. Clergy also spoke with a similar voice, as will be demonstrated in the coming section.

<sup>58</sup> Bruce, Victor Alexander, House of Commons Command Papers. *Report of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the military preparations and other matters connected with the War in South Africa*. Parliamentary Session:1904. Paper number Cd.1789.

### *Clergymen*

At the same time as unpreparedness was being recognised, organised religion was experiencing a decline in numbers attending church as evidenced in the Greater London area by a religious census which found that in the Church of England there were only three worshippers in 1902-1903 for every four found there in 1886.<sup>59</sup> Hugh McLeod extends this finding to the north of the country and establishes that, between the mid-eighteenth century and 1902-4, Roman Catholic attendance rates held steady whilst both Anglicans and Nonconformists suffered major losses.<sup>60</sup> McLeod attributes this fall to religious doubt, increased competition for leisure time, and a shrinkage in the social paternalism in which religious institutions had previously played a major part. Relevant to the current investigation, McLeod also finds (although his comment is not specifically related to schools covered by this study) that ‘the role of religion and the churches in education ... was diminishing – in some areas very rapidly’.<sup>61</sup> Against this disquieting background clergy were anxious to link their speeches to the word of God, thus to demonstrate its relevance to memorialisation in the world of the early twentieth century. Their purpose was to encourage belief and use unveiling opportunities to try reverse any downward trend in religious observance, wherever it might be found.

Clergy, as well as endorsing the schools, will be shown in this segment to have supported military leaders both in how they had acted in South Africa and in the messages they, the military, would convey. McLeod has already noted that the armed forces had been accepted as legitimate fields of Christian service from the 1860s and

<sup>59</sup> Stoddart, J.T., (1904) ‘The *Daily News* Census Of 1903-3 Compared With The *British Weekly* Census Of 1886’, in Mudie-Smith, R., (1904) *The Religious Life Of London*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, p.281.

<sup>60</sup> McLeod, H., (1996) *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd. p. 172.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. p. 223.

that military expressions were commonly used to present Christianity in language which would be well understood.<sup>62</sup> Using such rhetoric, clergymen had additional meanings of their own to put across, many of which would, today, be regarded as, sometimes blunt, sometimes frightening, and, on at least one occasion, racist.

Those men of the cloth who conducted unveilings also, for the most part, held senior positions within the religious hierarchy such as archbishop, bishop, and dean. Only two exceptions have been found in the instances under investigation – Reverends Abbott Roland Upcher, who unveiled at Framlingham, and George Thomas Piper Streeter who unveiled at Weymouth College. When clergy conducted commemoration ceremonies it was naturally to be expected that they would preach a sermon and most chose to construct what they would say from a text. Upcher, the rector of Halesworth, was amongst the six clergymen present at the Framlingham unveiling. His son, Abbott Winstanley Upcher, had been a lieutenant in the York and Lancaster Regiment, and involved in the South Africa war, so it may have been on that account that this particular cleric was the one nominated to preach.<sup>63</sup> Upcher took as his text the third verse of the second chapter of St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy,<sup>64</sup> and he reminded the boys of the important lessons of 'pluck and endurance, self-sacrifice, and discipline', which, he said, 'were the principles taught in public schools'.<sup>65</sup> The 'training of a school boy', the clergyman continued, 'was the preparing and equipment of the youth of our empire for the services of God and for the service of King and country'.<sup>66</sup> It was a straightforward message that the ten

<sup>62</sup> McLeod, H., (1996) *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd. p. 153.

<sup>63</sup> TNA, Anglo-Boer War records 1899-1902. Framlingham Register 145-146, Roll 200.

<sup>64</sup> 'Thou, therefore, endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ'.

<sup>65</sup> *Framlingham Weekly News* – Saturday 14 May 1904.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

alumni who had perished had been good soldiers of the church, the country, and the monarch, and a marker that boys still attending the school could anticipate leaving fully equipped, and expected, to follow in their predecessors' footsteps.

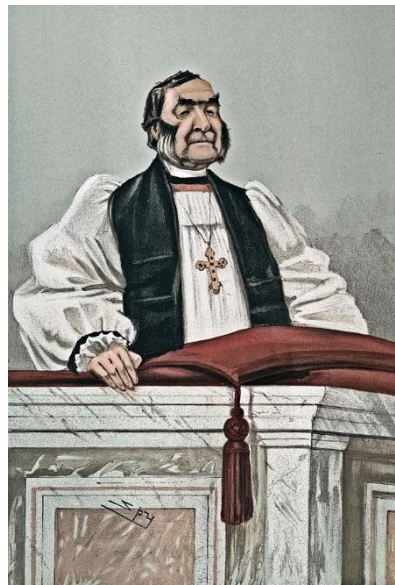
Randall Thomas Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury by the time he unveiled a monument and a privately-given window at Radley College, Abingdon, decided on part of a verse found in John I: 'this is the victory that overcometh the world, *even* our faith'.<sup>67</sup> Davidson told the congregation that there must always be progress and that it should move upward and from strength to strength. Two conditions were necessary for such improvement, an underlying principle, which he defined as faith, and the provision of something needed, which, in relation to the monument he was about to unveil, was the overcoming of whatsoever was unworthy.

The archbishop's remarks were meant to be taken as confirmation that the South African War had been righteous and that Christian faith was the means by which victory had been delivered. In the course of his reflections, Davidson also did not fail to praise the school. 'The public schools of England', he said, 'were the one institution which impressed a foreigner as being most characteristic'; 'it was grand' to be bound up with a great cathedral, as at Canterbury and Westminster, but more, rather than less, honour was due to William Sewell, who had founded Radley 'in the middle of the Victorian age', but with 'traditions at least 300 years old'.<sup>68</sup> Davidson's predecessor, Frederick Temple, had attended Blundell's School, Tiverton, as a pupil, and he

<sup>67</sup> *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments*. [Authorised King James Version] (undated) London: Collins, John I, chapter 5, verse 4, p.229. 'For whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, *even* our faith'.

<sup>68</sup> "School Speech Days." *Times* [London, England] 30 June 1904: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 22 Jan. 2016.

returned in 1900, as senior primate of the Church of England, to unveil a stained-glass window. Temple took his text from Corinthians I, the theme of which is many members, one body; so that if one suffers, all suffer, and if one rejoices, all rejoice.<sup>69</sup> The archbishop saw the school as a body of which past and present pupils were a part and he devoted his sermon to remind the listening boys ‘of the influence for bad or good that each scholar might have on the life of the school’.<sup>70</sup>



**Archbishop Frederick Temple from *Vanity Fair*, Sunday 9<sup>th</sup> November 1902, Caricaturist - Spy**  
**Source: Wikimedia Commons.**

No military guest was present on this occasion, so Temple himself addressed the assembled cadet corps and said that he was glad to see them looking smart, and desirous of upholding the past glory of their country. The Dean of Wells, Thomas William Jex-Blake, made a brief address, ‘since the day was very fully occupied’, during his unveiling of a window at Rugby, where he had been headmaster for thirteen

<sup>69</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Corinthians I, chapter 12, verse 26, p.169: ‘And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all members rejoice with it’ and verse 27 ‘Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular’.

<sup>70</sup> *Trewman’s Exeter Flying Post* – Saturday 6 October 1900.

years from 1874.<sup>71</sup> He did, however, find time to compliment the school by speculating that in the last moments of the men who died their thoughts had perhaps been of home, family and Rugby School.

The memorial at Bloxham was unveiled during Evensong on the school's All Saints' celebratory weekend and the preacher, The Warden of Keble College Oxford, Dr. Lock, used his sermon to inform the boys that they 'must be ready to endure pain', which, he said the five ex-pupils being commemorated had accepted because they could not fail to realise that their chosen profession meant 'the possibility of suffering, of wounds, of death'.<sup>72</sup> 'Clergy', too, The Warden explained, must accept 'the bitter pain of struggling with the sin of others' and seeing 'men turn away' from the clergy's 'message of redemption and salvation'.<sup>73</sup> Dr. Lock went on to remind the pupils that the qualities they should acquire at school were 'manliness', 'courage, openness and humility',<sup>74</sup> and the Provost, in thanking the preacher for his advice, commented that he felt sure it was 'just what the boys, young and old wanted'.<sup>75</sup> This preacher had delivered a very personal message which, following the headmaster's luncheon address, he went on to somewhat modify by saying that he had spoken about the hardships of clergymen, but not about the compensations. 'The hearty welcome he had received', Lock now observed, 'far out-weighed any trouble and hardship one might have had to endure'.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> "School Speech Days." *Times* [London, England] 27 June 1904: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 24 Jan. 2016.

<sup>72</sup> *Bloxhamist*, November 1904, vol. XXX, no. 290, p. 51.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Bloxhamist*, November 1904, vol. XXX, no. 290, p.52.

<sup>75</sup> *Bloxhamist*, November 1904, vol. XXX, no. 290, p.50.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

The Bishop of Chichester, Ernest Roland Wilberforce, preaching on the unveiling occasion at Eastbourne College, chose a traditional text from Timothy – ‘I have fought a good fight, I have finished *my* course, I have kept the faith’.<sup>77</sup> He paid tribute to the school and told the assembled pupils that they were not there so much to learn facts as to form a real, true, character. He urged the boys to note the words contained in Timothy, and to remember that the casualties being remembered had fought for a good cause. The text employed is primarily religious, meaning that the ‘good fight’ had been fought against sin although Wilberforce appropriated it in this case to justify military activity. But this Bishop had an even deeper message to deliver. Wilberforce was concerned that ‘millions upon millions of coloured men’ could acquire ‘arms of precision’; become ‘drilled and trained’ and, might eventually, ‘sweep every white man out of South Africa’.<sup>78</sup> He argued that those being remembered had enabled, what he termed ‘The Old Church of England’, to continue its civilising work in Africa, and his entreaty to the boys was to ‘teach by example and word’, whether as just a ‘soldier in the church militant’ or as one of those called upon to assist England ‘in the cruel arbitrament of war’.<sup>79</sup> The bishop obviously considered that the indigenous population of South Africa potentially posed a greater threat than the Boers, who, after all, were white, Christian, European settlers and might, in the bishop’s opinion be also under threat if Britain was unable to send missionaries out to the country to instruct, educate, enlighten and civilise.

The Bishop of London, Arthur Winnington-Ingram, was the unveiler at Harrow and he preached from Peter I, chapter three, verses ten and eleven, which urge those who

<sup>77</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Timothy II, chapter 4, verse 7, page 206.

<sup>78</sup> *Eastbourne Gazette* – 23 March 1904.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

love life, and see good days, to seek peace, and refrain from evil.<sup>80</sup> ‘There was no place in the world’, the Bishop declared, ‘where the love of life was stronger than at a public school’ and he went on to give examples of good days in the lives of a schoolboy, a politician, a soldier and a surgeon.<sup>81</sup> It was also a good day, the Right Reverend continued, when a young officer was called upon to lay down his life for his country and his school. The Bishop did not particularly elaborate as to why such a day could be considered good, but, according to Jeremy Morris, ‘he had an unquestioning trust in the civilizing mission of the British empire’.<sup>82</sup> It could possibly be, therefore, that, like his fellow bishop, Wilberforce, Winnington-Ingram felt that the fallen had ensured that church work in Africa could continue, with the result that the native population would become less likely to drive white settlers out of the country. Interestingly enough, the Boers, as staunch Calvinists, would also have seen themselves as a ‘Christian elect divinely ordained to rule the land and the backward natives therein’.<sup>83</sup> The South African Boers therefore shared some common, and frightening, ground with Wilberforce and Winnington-Ingram. The other interesting part of that latter bishop’s address is his reference to laying down a life for country and school. Winnington-Ingram was, himself, an old Marlburian, rather than an old Harrovian, but his view seems to have been that the values of public schools and the country were interchangeable and that if death resulted from the successful defence of either, it could be considered good. McLeod describes him as a fervent imperialist

<sup>80</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Peter I, chapter 3, verse 10, ‘For he that will love life, and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile;’ and verse 11, Let him eschew evil, and do good: let him seek peace, and ensue it.’

<sup>81</sup> “Founder’s Day At Harrow.” *Times* [London, England] 9 Oct. 1903: 8. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 23 Jan. 2016.

<sup>82</sup> Jeremy Morris, ‘Ingram, Arthur Foley Winnington- (1858–1946)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36979, [accessed 24 Jan 2016].

<sup>83</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, [Online], Available https://www.britannica.com/topic/Boer-people, [accessed 16 August 2017].



who considered that his country was fighting for the freedom of the world.<sup>84</sup> Winnington-Ingram, and many of his clerical colleagues, were ethnocentric, believing that British cultural beliefs and values were superior to those of other communities and it was this conviction which enabled them to be supportive of military action whenever and wherever the empire was threatened. More important to other supporters of imperialism were economic and political considerations. Empire provided a wide and expanding market in which to sell and/or buy goods; an extended, and often cheap, labour pool; and, in the particular case of South Africa, access to valuable natural resources such as precious metals and stones as well as large tracts of land.

McLeod was quoted earlier in this chapter,<sup>85</sup> as remarking that the role of religion in early-twentieth-century education was diminishing but, perhaps because of the forceful personalities of the clergy discussed in this section, it seems to have occupied a central place in public/private schools of the period. Richard Mudie-Smith, in commenting on the *Daily News* religious census of 1902-1903, wrote that the outstanding lesson to be learned was that, whatever the results, the power of preaching was undiminished. 'Wherever there is the right man in the pulpit', he claimed, 'there are few, if any, empty pews'.<sup>86</sup> Clergy who preached at unveilings were anxious to ensure that the boys being addressed would be inspired to help fill those pews in future and they seem to have indeed been the right men for the job. Prosecution of the war was validated by the hymns often chosen for unveiling occasions, for example

<sup>84</sup> McLeod, H., (1996) *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd. p. 99.

<sup>85</sup> Page 268.

<sup>86</sup> Mudie-Smith, R., (1904) 'The Methods And Lessons Of The Census', in Mudie-Smith, R., (ed.), (1904) *The Religious Life Of London*, London: Hodder and Stoughton.

‘Onward Christian Soldiers’; ‘Fight The Good Fight’; ‘Soldiers Who Are Christ’s Below’; and ‘For All The Saints Who From Their Labours Rest’ – all of them triumphalist in both sound and sentiment. The prayers said at Rugby School, at the unveiling of its memorial window, typify the tone which clergy sought to bring to the proceedings and they are quoted below, in abbreviated form,<sup>87</sup> to convey how the men who died were remembered; how those still at the school were encouraged, and why those who unhesitatingly went to war were minded to do so:

We thank Thee for these our brothers who fought a good fight, endured hardship, and willingly offered their lives for their country’s sake.

Accept, we pray Thee, the memorial which this day we dedicate, that it may beautify the House of Thy Presence, and preserving the remembrance of their courage and devotion, may stir up others to follow in their steps.

May those who look upon [the window] realize the joy of faithful service, the shortness of earthly glory, and the power of an endless life.

The first decade of the twentieth century was a time when countries struggled against each other for supremacy, control and strategic advantage, ambitions made somewhat softer when coupled to the civilising mission promoted by the clergy and effectively communicated by them to boys during unveiling ceremonies. Other, non-military non-religious, personnel also contributed to the messages delivered at unveilings and they are the subject of the next section.

### *Unveilings by Other personnel*

Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb M.P., was the second person to perform a Boer War memorial ceremony at Charterhouse, the first being Major-General (as he was then) Baden-Powell, who laid the foundation stone for the cloister in which the

<sup>87</sup> “School Speech Days.” *Times* [London, England] 27 June 1904: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 31 Jan. 2016.

parliamentary member had now been invited to unveil two memorial tablets. Jebb had prepared his address on seventeen pages of House of Commons' notepaper and he spoke of the close community created within the school; of the loyalty it enjoyed; and of the pride which Carthusians felt at the parts played by their school-fellows in South Africa.<sup>88</sup>



**Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb from *Vanity Fair*, Thursday 20<sup>th</sup> October 1904,  
Caricaturist – Spy. Source: Wikimedia Commons.**

The unusual part of the speech, however, was the use of the adjective 'great', in relation to that conflict. In later years, the term 'great', when employed to refer to British armed combat, was reserved to describe World War I but Jebb brought it into play on three occasions in his oration, as an indication that this had been, for his generation, war of a kind, and scale, not experienced before. The impact of the second Boer War on men like Jebb has been overshadowed by the two world-wars of the twentieth century. His repeated use of the word 'great' on this unveiling occasion serves as a reminder of the Boer War's true impact on a generation which was part of

<sup>88</sup> CHA, 83/3/2, MS. of Sir Richard C. Jebb's speech at the unveiling of the Memorial Tablets in the South African Memorial Cloister, July 4th, 1903.

an empire unused to military attacks that could not be quickly repulsed and with a minimum loss of life.<sup>89</sup> The point can be strikingly reinforced by reference to an edition of Roedean School Magazine which described ‘Peace Day, June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1902’ as ‘the greatest day we had ever seen – probably the greatest that most of us would ever see’.<sup>90</sup>

No record of what was said at the unveiling of a memorial at Stamford School in Autumn 1903 has been found, but the event is worthy of a mention because of the identity of the unveiler. Henry Knott, a widowed grocer and corn dealer, was Mayor of Stamford at that time. Henry’s wife had died in 1890 and, in those circumstances, his daughter, Ethel Mary, had been appointed Lady Mayoress and was accompanying her father in the performance of his duties. It was actually Ethel who unveiled this memorial and she is the only female found by this study to perform such a task.<sup>91</sup> In this regard, she, along with the Misses Dottridge, Lowndes, and Gloag, mentioned in Chapter Four,<sup>92</sup> represent an approaching change in the social order. As with Stamford, no record appears to exist of the unveiling at Bradfield College by Blackall Simonds, a Justice of the Peace and former director, also partner, in a firm of brewers.<sup>93</sup> Simonds was the first boy entered in the books of Bradfield when he was admitted on Monday 4<sup>th</sup> February 1850; at that time there was yet no headmaster and young Blackall, being the solitary boy for some weeks, lived alone with a temporary

<sup>89</sup> ‘Great’ was also the adjective used by the Master of Marlborough, to describe the war, on the occasion of that school’s unveiling a few weeks earlier.

<sup>90</sup> *Roedean School Magazine*, Summer Term 1902, p. 123.

<sup>91</sup> *Stamfordian*, Christmas Term, 1903.

<sup>92</sup> Pages 235/236.

<sup>93</sup> TNA, 1901 England, Wales & Scotland Census, archive reference RG13, piece number 1141, folio 36, p.11.

tutor in the village.<sup>94</sup> He was an ideal choice to unveil the school's window and tablet on Monday 30<sup>th</sup> November 1903. Schools had a natural preference, as already noted, for past pupils to unveil memorials, for the reason that any success with which they may have met in their chosen careers, as well as in life generally, reflected well upon the school, and enhanced its reputation. In this case, the presence of Simonds demonstrated that from its very inception the school had been capable of turning out young men who could be successful in business and hold high office in the social order.

University College School, described as 'absolutely unsectarian'<sup>95</sup> by a sometime headmaster, managed to persuade Colonial Secretary, and Old Boy, Joseph Chamberlain to unveil a memorial tablet which had been affixed to the playground wall. In introducing Chamberlain, the headmaster noted that the institution was not a military school, yet his visitor had been greeted by a guard of honour composed of the school cadet corps. Chamberlain told those assembled that the twelve old boys who had lost their lives had done honour to the school by their patriotic devotion. 'All of them', he said, 'have left behind a good record of their school life, and now they have crowned their life by its sacrifice on behalf of their King and their country'.<sup>96</sup> The Colonial Secretary went on to observe that characters were fixed during school years and that the boys were heirs of a great empire and the citizens of no mean city. Chamberlain was heartily cheered throughout the proceedings and the school took

<sup>94</sup> "Obituary." *Times* [London, England] 2 Mar. 1905: 10. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 25 Jan. 2016.

<sup>95</sup> Felkin, F.W., (1909) *From Gower Street To Frognal: A Short History Of University College School From 1830 to 1907*, (London: Arnold Fairbairns & Company Ltd.) pp.7-8, as already noted in Chapter Two, *Men Memorialised*, page 137.

<sup>96</sup> "Mr. Chamberlain At University College School." *Times* [London, England] 6 Nov. 1902: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 10 Mar. 2016.

obvious pride in the success of their past pupil. Other institutions to feel that same pride were Bradfield, Charterhouse, Rotherham Grammar, Marlborough, Rugby, Manchester Grammar, Sedbergh and Blundell's where individuals who had met with success in their chosen careers performed unveiling ceremonies at their old school.

King Edward VII carried out two of the unveilings being discussed, Eton and Winchester, although the ceremony at the former is better described as an opening in view of the fact that the memorial comprised a great hall, capable of containing all pupils and staff of the school, a library and a museum. The King, who had arrived with a large entourage from nearby Windsor Castle, was glad to think that three of his nephews had been educated at the school and he told the assembled boys that they had the opportunity to leave Eton 'trained in the knowledge and accomplishments of English gentlemen, and disciplined to the self-restraint, the consideration for others, and the loyal acceptance of private and public duties which are the ideals of our race'.<sup>97</sup> The King made no similar speech at Winchester, perhaps because, as noted earlier, the main purpose of his visit seems to have been to declare open a new hall, or perhaps because many complimentary remarks had already been paid to the college in a preceding address by the Duke of Connaught. Instead, His Majesty read the words inscribed on the memorial preceding them with 'To the glory of God' and following with 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen'.<sup>98</sup> *The Times*, in an effort to allay any public fears as to the King's health, reported that the words were spoken in a very clear and distinct voice. Edward was known to be a lifelong, and fairly heavy, cigarette and cigar smoker, who also suffered from

<sup>97</sup> "Court Circular." *Times* [London, England] 19 Nov. 1908: 13. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 24 Jan. 2016.

<sup>98</sup> "The King And Queen At Wellington College." *Times* [London, England] 18 June 1907: 12. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 25 Jan. 2016.

bronchitis, and, whilst a causal connection was not recognised at the time, the king's health was a matter of public interest and the reference would not, therefore, have gone unnoticed.

### *Loyalty relationship*

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the mood of the time was one of God, King, and Country, and it is appropriate at this juncture to consider an example of how schoolboys were encouraged to show loyalty to the monarch and how such allegiance could be coupled to religious belief. Edward VII's coronation was originally scheduled for Saturday 28<sup>th</sup> June 1902, but two days earlier he had been diagnosed with appendicitis, too late for the authorities at Canterbury Cathedral to undo arrangements made to invite about 700 public school boys to a special service on that day. Accordingly, boys from four Canterbury schools, and seven further afield, arrived to hear the Reverend Arthur John Galpin, headmaster of the King's School, preach a sermon using, as his text, part of a verse from the first epistle of St. Peter – Honour the King.<sup>99</sup> The institutions from which the boys came had taught them, the preacher said, the principles of 'loyalty to school' and 'loyalty to God', but, as they 'grew older', and took an interest in politics, 'God would call them to play a man's part' and it would then be time 'to lay to heart the third principle of conduct "Honour the King", loyalty to the English throne'.<sup>100</sup> Having delivered his message, the preacher sat down, and the assembled boys sang the national anthem with gusto. Apart from being the intended day for Edward's coronation, this Saturday was exactly four weeks into the armistice, so the war would have been very fresh in the boys' minds.

<sup>99</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Peter I, chapter 2, verse 17, page 222. 'Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king'.

<sup>100</sup> *Canterbury Journal, Kentish Times and Farmers' Gazette* – Saturday 28 June 1902.

It was an appropriate time to remind them of what the conflict had been about and to lay a marker of what was expected from them in the future.

Loyalty to the crown was very evident at Rotherham Grammar School where Colin M. Smith, a local solicitor, unveiled a tablet commemorating twelve old boys who had returned from war and two who had not. As the Union Jack, which had hidden the tablet, was drawn aside, the Rotherham Borough Band played God Save The King. The letters V.R. and E.R.<sup>101</sup> were then seen to be carved on either side of the memorial and part of the inscription read ‘this tablet is here placed to commemorate the patriotic devotion of the undermentioned old boys who served their country in the Boer War’.<sup>102</sup>

The plaque at Gordon Boys’ School carried two Union Jack depictions above the names of the fourteen ex-pupils who had lost their lives. No official unveiling appears to have been reported in this instance but, had it done so, it seems likely that these boys would have been encouraged, even more than most, toward a military career. A Gordons’ sermon, designed to raise funds for the school took place at Sandringham on Sunday 17<sup>th</sup> January 1904 during which the Bishop of Thetford told the King, Queen, and other members of the Royal Family, that the institution’s purpose ‘was to fire the Gordon boys with the desire to be true English soldiers and sailors’, although he did add ‘or to walk those quieter paths of citizen life’.<sup>103</sup> The Bishop also revealed that the school’s mission was ‘to undertake the conversion of the hooligan’, so it was

<sup>101</sup> Victoria Regina and Edwardus Rex.

<sup>102</sup> *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* – Thursday 28 July 1904.

<sup>103</sup> “Naval & Military Intelligence.” *Times* [London, England] 18 Jan. 1904: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 27 Jan. 2016.



presumably felt that encouragement toward a military career was an effective way of achieving that particular aim.<sup>104</sup>

Perhaps the strangest set of comments delivered at an unveiling and prize-giving occasion was made by Winston Churchill when he attended Epsom College, on the institution's 1903 speech-day. Having congratulated the school on its long list of successes, the parliamentary member went on to say that it was a great thing to be a 'swell' at school and that pupils 'would have to go a long way through the world before they could achieve such complete autocracy again'.<sup>105</sup> Mr Churchill then told the boys that those who:

were not swells must not accept as final the verdict and estimate of schooldays, for in the world the swells would have to struggle to maintain their pre-eminence and the others should remember that there was room for all, and a chance for all to attain pre-eminence.<sup>106</sup>

OED defines the word 'swell', in the 'transferred sense', as 'one who is distinguished or eminent in achievement; one who is very clever or good *at* something', so, whilst Churchill's meaning is somewhat unclear, because of more modern meanings being attached to the word, he seems to have meant that boys who did not excel at school, might do so in later life. He was also perhaps indicating that, in particular, the ten alumni who had died should be seen as good examples of the word in its 'transferred' definition.

<sup>104</sup> *Nottingham Evening Post* – Monday 18 January 1904.

<sup>105</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* – Monday 27 July 1903.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

### *Conclusion*

In the process of issuing invitations to those who would unveil memorials and address pupils, schools were anxious to draw from a pool of military role models; inspiring clergy, well-known figures and successful old boys. In several instances it proved possible, much to the obvious delight of the school, to combine more than one attribute in a single individual. It has been shown that military leaders spoke with one voice at unveiling ceremonies to encourage schools and students to engage in soldierly drill, to learn discipline, and to be practiced in the use of arms. That voice was fashioned, in my view, by Lord Roberts who, even during the South African War, became concerned that there was a deterioration in the physical fitness of the country's youth and that Britain would be left defenceless at home in the event that officers and troops were called to a theatre of war on foreign soil. Roberts, first as Commander-in-Chief of the British Army and later as President of the National Service League, kept himself well abreast of military affairs, even after leaving official office, and, through his contributions in the House of Lords, his various addresses, and his constant tour around the country to attend functions, unveilings and ceremonials, had the opportunity to meet other military men, discuss his concerns and persuade them to support his message of preparedness.

Clergymen, too, spoke with a single voice, and always in support of their military counterparts, often linking defence of the country to defence of the church and the particular ethos of the public/private, and, in the case of the Bishop of Thetford and Gordons', the private, school. Men of the cloth concentrated on the character values which a boy might acquire at school, even judged by Wilberforce to be more important than such traditional educational subjects as reading, writing and arithmetic.

The various unveilers seem, from appreciative comments made on their speeches by headmasters, to have satisfactorily endorsed each school and recommended it to their audience. Those who were, or had been, members of the military also undoubtedly struck the desired chord with the boys. In the years 1900 through 1914 forty-six of the institutions in this study introduced Cadet Corps whilst many more reinvigorated Corps established before the 1899 outbreak of war. Clergy also played a role in the increasing military training in schools by supporting participation in war as a valid means of preserving British values and perspectives in South Africa. In the area of religious belief the tide, in the country as a whole, was turning against them for reasons of doubt, a weakening of social role, and a general growth in class-consciousness and political militancy.<sup>107</sup> In schools, however, clergy played a strong part in unveiling ceremonies and, whilst there is no way of telling if their audiences tended toward doubt or belief, the messages delivered by clergy seem to have been, at least, enthusiastically received.

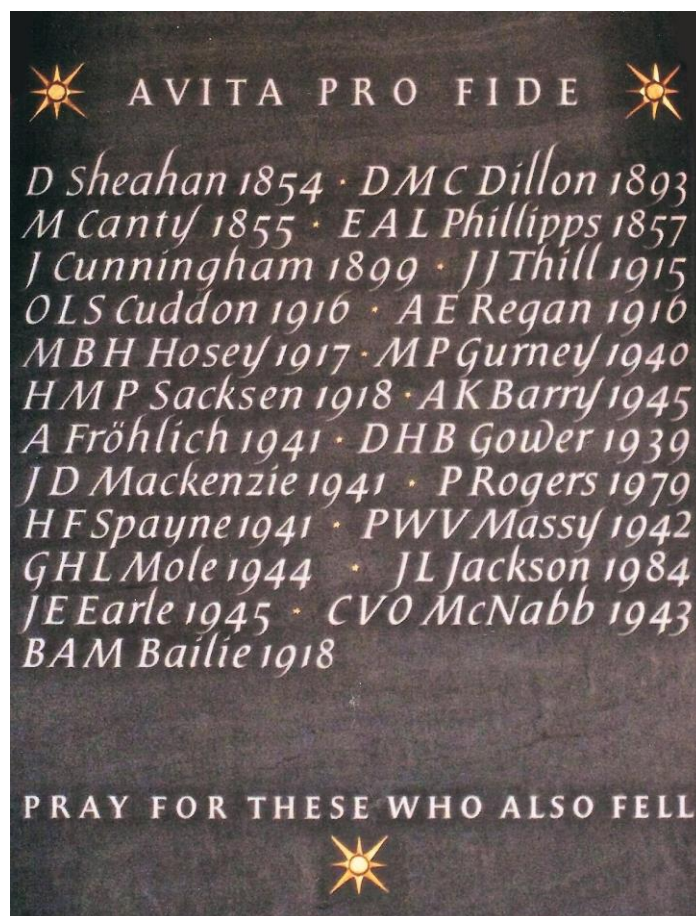
This present chapter opened with an analysis of the atmosphere prevailing at school Boer War unveilings and it has been shown that, in many cases, commemoration was an understated element of celebratory events such as prize-giving or the marking of a special day in a school's calendar. Solemn occasion was frequently combined with festivity whilst, at the same time, military men and clergy dovetailed their messages and were at pains to support the ethos of the school. It all added up to a seamless mix of duty, sacrifice, recognition and celebration; a mix which lodged itself in the memory of those involved and which might go some way toward understanding the mentality

<sup>107</sup> McLeod, H., (1996) *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd.

of ex-public/private- or ex-private-school men who were to volunteer themselves for service in the Great War, only a short few years later. It is to a comparison between commemoration of the South African War of 1899-1902 and the Great War of 1914-1918 that this thesis will turn in Chapter Six

# Chapter Six

## *The Future of Commemoration*



St. Edmund's College & Prep School, Ware, Hertfordshire  
Unveiling Ceremony performed on Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> October 2013

Photographed with the permission of the Headmaster, Mr Paulo Durán BA MA

## *Chapter Six – The Future of Commemoration*

### *Introduction*

The total number of deaths on the British side in the fight against the Boers amounted to 20,766 and this figure included all those who were killed in action or who died of wounds or disease.<sup>1</sup> It also took into account men serving in Colonial Contingents, civil surgeons, and those who were civilians in military employment. The number of dead in both the South African War and the Great War have been discovered in respect of 138 of the schools covered in this study and the figures are 1,172, in the South African War, and 26,301 in the Great War. The number of lives lost in WWI across just 138 schools, therefore, exceeded the *total* Boer War loss suffered by Britain, *and* her supporters throughout the Empire, by well over 26% – a truly staggering and arresting statistic, and one which strikingly illustrates the tragedy of the Great War.

Details regarding the design, construction and unveiling of memorials in many of these schools are known for both the Boer War and World War I and this present chapter will compare and contrast those details. A comparative case study of Eton College will be presented following which the section will widen its analysis by working through types of commemorative object; those who performed the unveiling ceremonies; speech content; unveiling dates; and those who designed and created the memorials, prior to arriving at a subdivision which will summarise conclusions. In between dates and designers, particular mention will be made of memorials featuring St. George, the patron saint of England and of soldiers, as that figure was especially prominent in First World War remembrance in schools. In advance of all those

<sup>1</sup> Gildea, J., (1911) *For Remembrance And In Honour Of Those Who Lost Their Lives In The South African War 1899-1902*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode Ltd. p.v.

discussions on Eton and other schools, however, two background aspects to commemoration, viz. national frame of mind and a professional view of memorialisation, will be considered in order to determine how the atmosphere of the time might have been expected to influence the events which followed. First though, a comment on the argument contained in the chapter.

Despite the overall assertion of continuity, this chapter will note that the sheer scale of loss in WWI resulted in some differences, in schools, between 1920s commemoration and that which took place in the first decade of the twentieth century. Religious belief and observance were, generally throughout the country, in a period of decline, but throughout the institutions discussed clergy played a greater role in WWI unveiling ceremonies. A stronger need for consolation may have been a factor, but the overall mood was darker and, as feelings of sacrifice and duty were pronounced in schools, clergy, keen to halt decline wherever it might be found, were called upon to reinforce such notions. Scale of loss also dictated that commemorative forms would change. Monuments became more popular as did improvements to school facilities and the building of utilities. Stained-glass and tablets declined whilst a new category, educational funds, entered the list of commemorative expressions available. Searches for a positive legacy from the huge loss of life accounted for improvements, utilities and funds whilst the practical problems of portraying total war in narrative form and the listing of so many, many, names explain the shift away from glass and tablets. For some, the symbolic language of monuments became the only way in which such colossal loss could be expressed.

### *National frame of mind*

In this section, the mood of the country in the immediate days following the Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> May 1902 Boer War armistice, and the Monday 11<sup>th</sup> November 1918 Great War armistice will be examined and compared, mainly by reference to *Hansard* and comment appearing in *The Times* as both sources were consistent in delivering relevant material following each cessation of hostilities.

The House of Commons met at two o'clock on the afternoon of Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1902; terms of agreement to terminate the war in South Africa having been agreed and signed the previous Saturday night, 31<sup>st</sup> May. Arthur Balfour, at that time First Lord of the Treasury,<sup>2</sup> read the terms of surrender to the House but he refrained from making any comment or expressing whatever feelings he may have had on the termination of military action. It was left to opposition leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, to comment that the news would 'cause the most profound and universal satisfaction, not only at home, but within the whole wide bounds of the Empire'.<sup>3</sup> It would, Campbell-Bannerman continued, 'bring ease to many an anxious, aching heart ... give rest to many who [had] served the King in all ranks'; and 'relieve the [country's] power and resources of a strain which [it had] proved to be well able to bear'. The opposition leader had, almost a year previously, alleged that the war was being 'carried on by methods of barbarism' and, in the same speech, he hoped and believed that every Englishman desired to see the Boers as friends.<sup>4</sup> Following up on those sentiments Campbell-Bannerman now made the following statement, aimed at promoting

<sup>2</sup> Balfour was the last person to hold the title First Lord of the Treasury without being Prime Minister as well. He was to become Prime Minister the following month.

<sup>3</sup> House of Commons Hansard. Volume Title: Fourth Series, Volume 108, Page Column 1089-1224, Regnal Year: Edward VII year 2.

<sup>4</sup> "Dinner To Liberal Leaders." *Times* [London, England] 15 June 1901: 12. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 7 May 2018.



immediate feelings of reconciliation between Britain and her, now unfragmented, colony in South Africa:

I am sure that I can go further, and say that we are unanimous in our admiration of those who up to now have been our enemies, and who now are our friends and fellow-citizens, whose military qualities, whose tenacity of purpose and self-sacrificing devotion to liberty and country, have won for them the respect of the whole world, and foremost of all the respect of us who have been their opponents.<sup>5</sup>

The First Lord was then asked if he would consent to an adjournment of the House until the following morning, but Balfour replied that it was quite impossible to entertain such a proposal as to suspend the business of the country would not be a judicious way to conduct a celebration. Another parliamentary member asked if there was any intention on the part of the Government to hold a Thanksgiving Day for the cessation of the war, but the Speaker ruled that the time for questions had expired and, in the absence of notice, the enquiry could not be allowed. The House then went on to discuss topics as diverse as the 'Speed of Mail Steamers to the East' and 'Tenement Rents in Dublin' before adjourning at ten minutes to midnight.<sup>6</sup>

*The Times*, in its reflection on the war, was of the opinion that it had brought the nation and the empire closer together than ever before, knitted by firm bonds under the Union Jack. Each side engaged in the conflict, the paper asserted, had come to realise the possibilities of the great Imperial mission, a mission which could now be prosecuted with renewed spirit, both parties being 'younger in the consciousness of our might and younger in our hopes than when the brave foes we now welcome as fellow-subjects forced [the war] upon us'.<sup>7</sup> Less than sixteen-and-a-half years later, at the conclusion

<sup>5</sup> House of Commons Hansard. Volume Title: Fourth Series, Volume 108, Page Column 1089-1224, Regnal Year: Edward VII year 2.

<sup>6</sup> House of Commons Hansard. Volume Title: Fourth Series, Volume 108, Page Column 1089-1224, Regnal Year: Edward VII year 2.

<sup>7</sup> "The end for which we have striven during two." *Times* [London, England] 2 June 1902: 11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 May 2016.

of WWI, the 1902 conciliatory and business-as-usual mood in both parliament and *The Times* would be completely different as demonstrated below.

The Commons met at a quarter to three o'clock on the afternoon of Monday 11<sup>th</sup> November 1918 and Prime Minister Lloyd George announced, 'in a voice broken with emotion',<sup>8</sup> that an armistice had been signed at five that morning under which 'cessation of operations by land and in the air' would come into effect six hours later.<sup>9</sup> Having delivered his statement, Lloyd George moved that the House immediately adjourn and that its members proceed to 'St. Margaret's [Westminster Abbey] to give humble and reverent thanks for the deliverance of the world from its great peril'.<sup>10</sup> Opposition leader Herbert Henry Asquith agreed with the Prime Minister's motion as 'the only one which is consonant with our feelings and with those of the country and the Empire' and the House duly suspended its proceedings.<sup>11</sup> *Hansard* recorded the adjournment time at seventeen minutes past three so members had been in session for thirty-two minutes only. The parliamentarians then filed out through St. Stephen's Hall in procession behind the Speaker and, joined by members of the House of Lords, led by the Lord Chancellor, they proceeded to a liturgy reported as being one of 'thanksgiving', 'humble supplication and radiant gratitude'.<sup>12</sup> That same afternoon a crowded service took place at St. Paul's Cathedral and throughout the country churches 'were filled to overflowing' at 'hurriedly arranged' ceremonies, all focusing

<sup>8</sup> "At Westminster." *Times* [London, England] 12 Nov. 1918: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 May 2016.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> "At Westminster." *Times* [London, England] 12 Nov. 1918: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 May 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

on the same themes as those observed at St. Margaret's.<sup>13</sup> 'Our enemy is laid low' announced *The Times*, 'and we stand ... higher than we have ever stood before': the country had been filled with 'a loathing and a righteous indignation' which would not readily pass away, the publication continued, citing as its cause the 'inexpiable brutalities' which Germany had perpetrated and 'against which no classes of her people [had] dared to protest'.<sup>14</sup> The enemy had been 'false and cruel' and must therefore 'bear the penalty in our mistrust and in our abhorrence'.<sup>15</sup> These sentiments were amplified elsewhere in the paper with the words:

We remember that all Germany gave her full assent to the war which has bathed the world in blood and tears for four years, and that it is failure alone which now leads her to abjure it. We shall do no wrong, but we will abandon no right. Justice must be satisfied and justice demands a stern reckoning for guilt so deliberate, so obdurate, and so great.<sup>16</sup>

Sir Eric Campbell Geddes put the sentiment rather more bluntly in a speech delivered exactly one month after the armistice wherein he remarked that Britain would be 'squeezing Germany like a lemon until the pips squeak'.<sup>17</sup> The evangelical *British Weekly* was even more forthright as it 'greeted the Armistice' with the headline, 'Beholding the fallen Satan'.<sup>18</sup>

In the case of termination of the Boer War then, Balfour showed no emotion when delivering news of the armistice; parliamentary business carried on as normal; no immediate thanksgiving was initiated by government; and Campbell-Bannerman,

<sup>13</sup> "Welcoming The News." *Times* [London, England] 12 Nov. 1918: 9+. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 30 Apr. 2016.

<sup>14</sup> "Our First Duty." *Times* [London, England] 12 Nov. 1918: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 30 Apr. 2016.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> "The Downfall." *Times* [London, England] 11 Nov. 1918: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 2 May 2016.

<sup>17</sup> ERIC GEDDES. "'Until The Pips Squeak'." *Times* [London, England] 15 Dec. 1933: 15. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 10 Aug. 2016.

<sup>18</sup> Brown, C.G., (2006) *Religion And Society In Twentieth-century Britain*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited. p. 106.

together with *The Times*, sought to reunite Britain and South Africa under the national flag. At the termination of WWI Lloyd George was choked with emotion; all parliamentary business was suspended in favour of thanksgiving; *The Times*, striking a triumphant note, placed the blame on the population of Germany as a whole, and demanded they be held to account, whilst Geddes sought to satisfy public demand for redress in his colourful choice of metaphor. The selection of language employed by the parliamentarians contributed to the immediate post-war moods, Balfour choosing the single word ‘celebration’ and Lloyd George the phrase ‘humble and reverent thanks for the deliverance’.

Alex King points out that the term ‘great sacrifice’ had changed meaning during WWI and now ‘came to refer in most people’s minds to the supposedly willing and generous laying down of their lives by soldiers in defence of their country and their ideals’.<sup>19</sup> He goes on to state that the conflict was often justified as a ‘purgative blood-sacrifice which would cleanse the world not only of political, but also of social and moral evil’.<sup>20</sup> Charles Frederic Kernot reminds his readers that WWI was the ‘greatest in its horror and scientific methods’; that ‘before it air raids were unknown’; ‘submarine warfare on merchant and hospital ships was inconceivable’, and poison gas had never before been used.<sup>21</sup> Other writers describe the event as catastrophic and unprecedented whilst, for many, its ghastliness was best conveyed in the idea that a generation had been wiped out. The sheer scale, and distinctive nature, of the agony of WWI largely accounts for the difference in reaction to its cessation. It was quite different to the South African War. Almost every family in the land experienced the death, or injury,

<sup>19</sup> King, A., (1998) *Memorials Of The Great War In Britain: The Symbolism And Politics of Remembrance*, Oxford: Berg, an imprint of Oxford International Publishers Ltd. p.129.

<sup>20</sup> King, A., *Memorials Of The Great War In Britain*, 129.

<sup>21</sup> Kernot, C.F., (1927) *British Public Schools War Memorials*, London: Roberts & Newton Limited. p.5.

of a close relative. Hostilities were on Britain's doorstep rather than six thousand miles away. Germany, and its leader, were seen as evil whereas the Boers were merely troublesome and the feeling that their cause was unjust was not held by everyone. Britain's relationship with each set of opponents was also quite different, as set out in the following paragraph.

The South African rebel republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State had previously been a firm part of empire and therefore within the British family of nations. Their attempt to break away could be seen as a family squabble and, as is the way with families, once the dispute had been settled, even though in this case by brute military force, other family members would be keen to keep those whom they regarded as kinsfolk within the fold and thus preserve the family/empire unit. The German Emperor was family in the sense that he was a grandchild of Queen Victoria, nephew of Edward VII and first cousin to King George V, but Germany itself was not within the British family of nations so there was no relationship to be at pains to preserve. It was consequently inevitable that, quite apart from the deep feelings of loathing, the conquering of German aggression should precipitate a different set of emotions to those experienced at the defeat of opponents in South Africa. In the wake of all those emotional sentiments, Jay Winter observes that 'both religious and lay communities devoted themselves to the task of commemoration'.<sup>22</sup> In that task, they were offered advice on the making of memorial choices, as demonstrated under the following sub-heading.

<sup>22</sup> Winter, J., (1995) *Sites Of Memory, Sites Of Mourning: The Great War In European Cultural History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.85.

### *A professional view of memorialisation*

Lawrence Walter William Weaver was introduced in Chapter Four as an architectural writer and self-appointed arbiter of taste who alleged that there was an exceeding poverty of memorial design in Boer War commemoration. The chapter, having found a variety of design which it considered good, argued that this was not the case. Weaver became the architectural editor of *Country Life* in 1910 and five years later a book, by means of which he sought to influence WWI memorialisation, and from which his ‘exceeding poverty’ remark was extracted, was published at the premises of the magazine. Issued simultaneously with Weaver’s opus was another by the reverend Ernest Hermitage-Day which partly shared the same title, although both publishers, A.R. Mowbray and George Newnes, were keen to point out, in a similarly worded *Note* at the beginning of each volume, that the two works did not compete.<sup>23</sup>

The publications by Weaver and Hermitage-Day are the subject of this current section. Weaver was, in the words of his grandson, ‘one of the foremost writers on British architecture and allied arts of his time’,<sup>24</sup> and in 1915 he, Lawrence senior, turned his attention to publishing examples of, in his own view, good memorial art, with the intention of providing guidance as to ‘proportion, use of materials, spacing of letters and the like’.<sup>25</sup> Weaver cited three sources of supply in existence at that time – monumental masons, who, he alleged were incompetent in their craftsmanship; shops

<sup>23</sup> Hermitage-Day, E., (1915) *The Arts Of The Church: Monuments And Memorials*, London: A.R. Mowbray & Co Ltd and Weaver, L., (1915) *Memorials And Monuments Old And New: Two Hundred Subjects Chosen From Seven Centuries*, London: Published at the offices of “Country Life” by George Newnes Ltd.

<sup>24</sup> Weaver, L.T., (1989) *Lawrence Weaver 1876-1930, An Annotated Bibliography*, York: Inch’s Books, frontispiece.

<sup>25</sup> Weaver, L., (1915) *Memorials And Monuments Old And New: Two Hundred Subjects Chosen From Seven Centuries*, London: Published at the offices of “Country Life” by George Newnes Ltd. p.2.

which provided stereotype marble monuments, and clerical tailors who sold dreary engraved brasses. All three sources, he somewhat hyperbolically concluded, had added a new terror to death. Weaver correctly forecast that on the return of peace there would be ‘scarcely a church, or chapel, or school, or village hall which will lack records of those “who held not their lives dear”’, and it was his hope that memorials should be worthy of the men and of the occasion.<sup>26</sup> He acknowledged that buildings which provide a usefulness; scholarships founded in the name of a person deceased; and adornments to existing structures, such as chancel screens and stained-glass windows, all had a place in memorialisation but, for him, some monument which served no purpose other than remembrance was often called for when paying homage to gallant deeds. Weaver was educated at Clifton College, Bristol, whose statue of St. George, pictured at the head of Chapter Five, provided him with perfect example of such a memorial and quite possibly influenced his future view.

Hermitage-Day, in much the same vein as Weaver, warned of the dangers of those ‘memorial tablets which appear in ... catalogues’ and the firms ‘who ... content themselves with repeating mechanically those frigid types of design which are the stock-in-trade of their offices’.<sup>27</sup> He regarded brass as an intractable material, preferring instead bronze or gun-metal. He also expressed the opinion that a brass plate erected ‘to the glory of GOD’, in circumstances where there is no other memorial in the vicinity, ‘is really mendacious’.<sup>28</sup> By this comment Hermitage-Day is taken to mean that a window, or similar, is erected to glorify God whereas a plate, unaccompanied by an object of glorification, is merely recording an event or a name.

<sup>26</sup> Weaver, *Memorials And Monuments*, 3.

<sup>27</sup> Hermitage-Day, E., (1915) *The Arts Of The Church: Monuments And Memorials*, London: A.R. Mowbray & Co Ltd. pp. xii and 138.

<sup>28</sup> Hermitage-Day, E., *The Arts Of The Church*, 149.

It is more difficult to interpret the meaning of his ‘intractable’ comment as brass is usually a malleable metal, although sometimes made stronger, and therefore more intractable, by varying the proportions of its copper and zinc content.

In contrast to Weaver, Hermitage-Day regarded objects which supplied something of use to churches and chapels as being the best kind of memorial and he picked out for particular mention reredoses, rood-lofts, screens, stalls, lecterns and stained-glass windows. There was consequently no shortage of advice to those with the responsibility to recommend what kind of memorial should be erected to their Great War dead and it covered topics ranging from statuary to lettering.

Any assessment of the resulting quality of craftsmanship demonstrated in memorial art is beyond the scope of this thesis but the types of school memorial which appeared in the wake of both the Boer and Great wars will shortly be considered, and any similarities or differences highlighted. Before doing so, however, the following comparative case study of Eton College will also help determine the change of mood, in public/private schools, between the Boer and Great wars.

### *Eton College comparative case study*

Eton was particularly discussed in Chapter Three under the heading *Headmasters in Control* but by the time WWI commemoration was being considered, control, in this and other school cases, had firmly moved in a more democratic direction. Eton appointed a Council comprising six members nominated by the College, eighteen by a general meeting of Etonians held on Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup> February 1917, and one supernumerary (ex officio), that latter individual being the headmaster. The group



first met in the Jerusalem Chamber, at the Dean of Westminster's official residence, on Tuesday 27<sup>th</sup> March 1917, when it appointed members to four sub-committees – financial, memorial, constitution, and selection. Honorary-treasurer Francis Nathaniel Curzon, a stockbroker by profession,<sup>29</sup> reported that contributions to a recently opened memorial fund, 'paid or promised' to date, 'amounted to £107,500'.<sup>30</sup> Chairman Lord Parker of Waddington announced that the main purpose of the fund was for 'the relief of the families of Old Etonians fallen in or incapacitated by the War'.<sup>31</sup> Bearing that announcement in mind, it was unanimously agreed that 'it be an instruction to the Memorial Committee to report on the footing of an expenditure not exceeding £10,000'.<sup>32</sup> The first meeting of that latter committee took place at the Belgrave Square home of Viscount Harcourt, its chairman, on Friday 27<sup>th</sup> April 1917. Arthur Ainger, who, it will be recalled, had acted as permanent secretary to Eton's Boer War committee, suggested providing the school hall with an organ, but a letter from Lord Rosebery was read in which he stated: 'I hope the memorial will not take the form of any addition or ornament to the existing war memorial, which would be very inadequate for the purpose and ... very unwelcome to the subscribers'.<sup>33</sup>

Over the course of the next few months various memorial suggestions were advanced, for example an 'Eleanor Cross',<sup>34</sup> and a Commemorative 'Tower',<sup>35</sup> whilst numerous views on design were expressed. The Duke of Newcastle thought that 'elaborate sculpture [was] better understood in France' and that once 'schemes had been reduced

<sup>29</sup> TNA, 1911 Census for England and Wales, census reference RG14PN422 RG78PN14 RD5 ED8 SN61.

<sup>30</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.2.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.9.

<sup>34</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.51.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p.70.

to two or three in number designs should be invited from various architects, not necessarily Etonians or even Englishmen'.<sup>36</sup> Harcourt too liked the idea of foreign influence, 'instancing particularly', as an addition to the chapel, 'a pulpit that he had seen abroad'.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, such small sums as were later expended on possible designs were all made locally. Lord Rosebery had correctly gauged the mood. His comment, made at the February 1917 General Meeting, 'I hope we shall not build a hall of any kind',<sup>38</sup> had met with applause as had a statement by The Marquis of Lansdowne who remarked – 'I should like to rule out altogether such proposals as buildings for laboratories, swimming baths, gymnasium (sic), or playing fields'.<sup>39</sup> Also, 'Members of the Council, and others', were 'known' to hold a 'strong objection' to 'expenditure on anything connected with the School Hall',<sup>40</sup> whilst *Eton College Chronicle* reported that from an early stage the idea had been that the memorial 'should be educational rather than architectural.'<sup>41</sup>

Some minor memorial items *were* approved and subsequently came into being; for example, a book in which the names of the fallen were written in 'letters of gold'<sup>42</sup> and a stained-glass window for the 'North Chapel', at a cost of '250 guineas'.<sup>43</sup> The main memorial, however, was recommended to be either a bronze frieze, to be erected at the school entrance, or else a series of frescoes, to be painted in the chapel. The headmaster elicited opinion on these options from the other Eton masters and reported his findings to a committee meeting held at his home on Tuesday 15<sup>th</sup> July 1918. Six

<sup>36</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.10.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 1604, Tuesday, 13 March 1917, p.186

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp.186-187.

<sup>40</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.52.

<sup>41</sup> *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 1604, Tuesday, 13 March 1917, p.185.

<sup>42</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.51.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p.61.

masters were in favour of the frieze, two with reservations, but twenty-five were against. Two were in favour of frescoes, but twenty-seven were against. Interestingly, however, only twenty-three masters voted in respect of either proposal, whilst an additional eight voted (two for, six against) the frieze, and an additional six (one for, five against) the frescoes. A total of thirty-seven masters therefore cast an opinion, only seven of whom favoured one or other of the proposals and, as less than two-thirds voted on both, a certain apathy amongst the teaching staff is apparent.

The memorial committee eventually unanimously preferred the frieze, ‘saving for some doubt on the part of the Headmaster’, and that indeed became the main WWI Eton memorial.<sup>44</sup> Harcourt reported to a committee meeting, held at his residence on Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> January 1918, that there was ‘a strong and almost unanimous feeling at Eton for some further treatment of the School Hall, such as the provision of an organ or in other ways’ but the masters, headmaster included, were out of step with the views of Old Etonians, and the memorial committee. In contrast to the situation a decade-and-a-half earlier, when the personality of headmaster Warre had won the day, memorial decisions were now made on a much more democratic basis.<sup>45</sup> The College had also, this time around, avoided any publicly-aired squabble over memorial form and had raised a much higher level of funding more quickly and easily than before. The Eton Council was to set up an additional sub-committee, named Surplus, and its first meeting took place on Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> May 1920. By Friday 30<sup>th</sup> April 1937 the fund totalled £193,017 and was in surplus to the tune of £68,997, having expended £95,620 on bursaries, £3,400 on expenses and £25,000 on memorials, indicating that

<sup>44</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.102.

<sup>45</sup> ECA, Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book, p.61.

almost 80% of the expenditure to date had indeed been made for the purpose originally intended.

From a very early stage, the mood amongst committee members and alumni was that funds be used to educate the sons of those Old Etonians who had died. The tradition of past Eton pupils sending their son(s) to the same institution was therefore preserved and any financial burden caused to families by the war, alleviated. There was, however, a difference of fund-allocation opinion between the committee-members/alumni and the Eton masters/headmaster who preferred to have more of the collected funds spent on improvements to the college, particularly the school hall. The interest-priority of the masters was therefore the college itself rather than the bereaved families but, in the event, their preferences were drowned by a wider body of opinion. As previously noted,<sup>46</sup> Eton's early twentieth-century headmaster, Edmond Warre, engineered a democratic process to realise an improvement to the school as a memorial for the Boer War. The process for the WWI memorial, however, was truly democratic as the decisions were made by groups of men working through committees rather than by one man imposing his strong will upon others. At other schools, the chosen form of memorial was only in small part educational, in the Eton sense, as will be shown in the following section.

### *Categories of Memorial and of those who unveiled them*

This segment will provide statistical comparisons between Boer and WWI memorials, and their unveilers, and comment on the differences and similarities. It will show that simple tablets gave way to more elaborate objects; that memorials generally became

<sup>46</sup> Chapter Three, *Memorial Commissioning Process*, pages 163/165.

utilitarian, despite a parallel increase in those serving no practical purpose; and that funding of education, absent in Boer commemoration, began to play a part. The categories of unveiler will be shown to be broadly the same, military decreasing slightly, clergy increasing slightly, and royalty/nobility remaining constant.

### *Memorials*

The following apt phrase is quoted to demonstrate what memorial builders were endeavouring to build into their creations. Lady Laura Elizabeth Ridding was a suffragist and philanthropist, the widow of the Reverend Dr. George Ridding, headmaster of Winchester College at the time of their marriage in 1876. When Winchester unveiled its WWI cloister in 1924 she was credited with the quotation which appears overleaf, although the words are actually those of John Ruskin.<sup>47</sup>

There are two strong conquerors of the forgetfulness of men – poetry and architecture and the latter in some sort includes the former and is mightier in its reality.<sup>48</sup>

The materials from which the Winchester cloister was constructed included black marble from India, Canadian marble from British Columbia, syenite from New Zealand and granite from South Africa.<sup>49</sup> Those responsible for bringing it into being had patently spared no effort to create something more than an assembly of building materials and the word ‘poetry’ is an appropriate description of that additional something. A sense of poetry is to be found in memorials related to both wars, irrespective of whether or not they served a useful purpose.

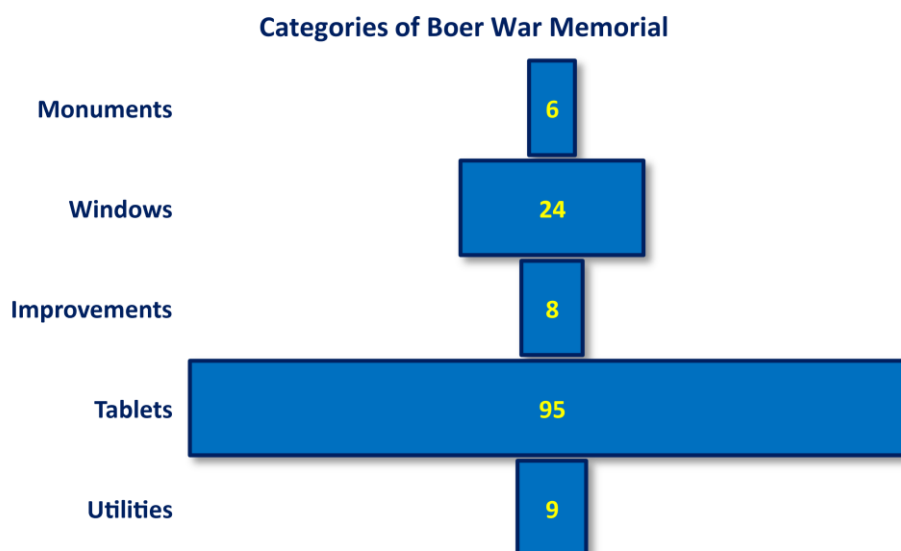
<sup>47</sup> Rosenberg, J.D., (ed.) (1998) *The Genius Of John Ruskin, Selections From His Writings*, London: University of Virginia Press. p. 131.

<sup>48</sup> "Winchester War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 2 June 1924: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 13 May 2016.

<sup>49</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 82.

### *Boer War Memorials*

The total number of South African War memorials found in the schools covered by this study is 142. In some instances, there were more than one memorial, for example Bradfield where a rather ornate tablet, which deserves to be recognised in its own right, was erected on the east wall of the chapel's south transept and a stained-glass window was installed on the south side of the same transept. Similarly, at Cheltenham the cross was built as an outside memorial whilst the reredos occupies one interior wall of the chapel. In each of these examples the number of memorials is consequently counted as two and the total of 142 memorials were found across an aggregation of 111 schools. Categorising the memorials requires some harsh decisions. For instance, 'tablet' and 'cross' seem small words for, respectively, the ornate mural at Beaumont and the elaborate exterior structure at Cheltenham, both described in some detail in Chapter Four.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, in order to arrive at a manageable number of groupings such memorials need to be classified at their most basic level and the results of that exercise are given below.



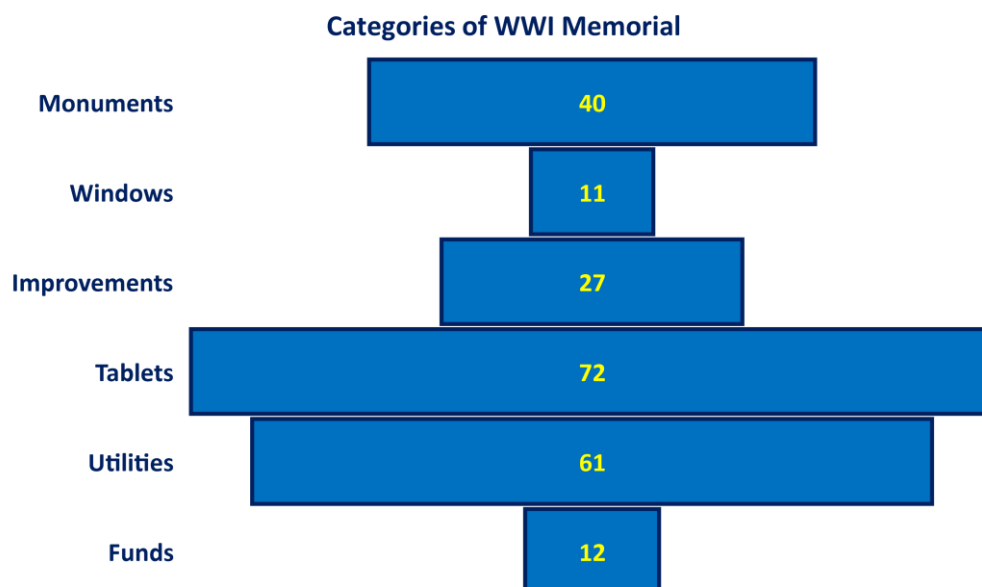
<sup>50</sup> Chapter Four, *Design and Construction*, pages 214 and 224.

The category *Monuments* includes those items which Weaver described as having no useful purpose other than remembrance, for example the obelisk at Haileybury, the cross at Cheltenham, the statue at Clifton, and the gateway at Winchester. Stained-glass windows he categorised as adornments to existing buildings but in the chart these are shown separately to *Improvements* which include such items as the reredoses at Cheltenham and Eton, the pulpit at Framlingham, the mosaics at Sherborne, the drinking fountain at St. Paul's, and the oak stalls at Rossall. *Tablets* also embrace plaques of all materials and complexity, brasses, and the memorial shield at Edinburgh. *Utilities* include the workroom/museum at Oxford Preparatory, the cloister at Charterhouse, the dining room at All Hallows, libraries at Glenalmond and Dulwich, and the rather complicated gymnasium/concert-hall/armoury building at Uppingham. The chart is dominated by the category *Tablets* and it might be considered that a more representative view would be obtained by stripping out those placed near other memorials merely to list the names of those being commemorated. In other words, those which, in Hermitage-Day's view, were *not* erected to the glory of God. Doing so, however, only slightly reduces the width of the *Tablets* band and does not dramatically change the impact of the overall image.

### *Great War Memorials*

Undertaking the same exercise for WWI reveals 223 memorials across 158 schools and it will be noted, from the graphic appearing overleaf, that a new category, *Funds*, has been added. At Bury Grammar a portion of the collected memorial monies was used to assist the education of sons of Old Boys who had fallen in the war, whilst at King's Cathedral School, Worcester, a scholarship was set up for boys in similar circumstances. At City of Norwich School, the memorial fund surplus was invested

and the interest devoted to the purchase of prizes for academic achievement. At Elizabeth College, Guernsey, scholarships were provided for ‘sons of the Fallen, and, where needful, daughters’ as well.<sup>51</sup> Eight other schools similarly allocated a portion of their memorial funds to be used in this way.



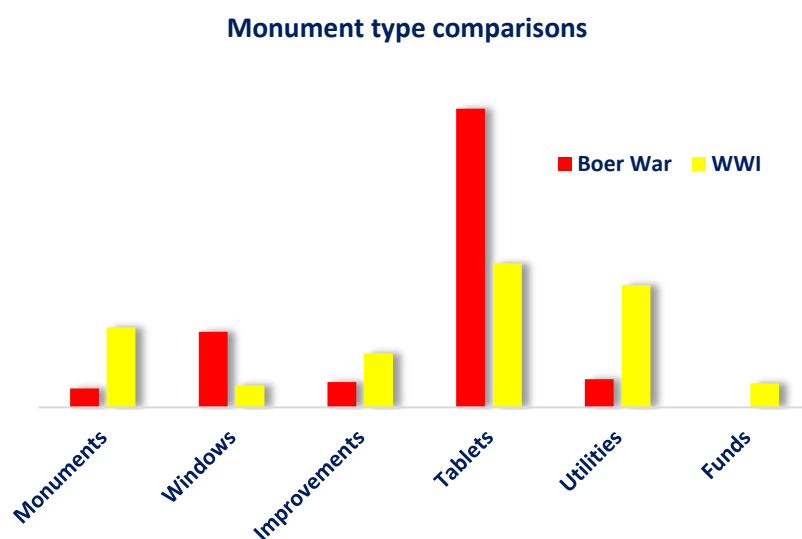
There are some striking differences between the above chart and that which appeared on page 304 but they are best represented in an additional graphic which expresses each memorial type as a percentage of the total and compares Boer War commemoration with that of WWI. That new graphic is presented on the following page but, because entering the percentages to each of the columns would detract from its impact, it is preceded by the following table which supplies the figures from which the graphic is compiled.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 247.

<sup>52</sup> The information for this table and graphic comes, mainly, from Gildea, J., *For Remembrance* and Kernot, C.F., (1927) *British Public Schools War Memorials*, but also from personal visits to schools and repositories.



Memorial type	Boer War	WWI
Monuments	4.23	17.94
Windows	16.90	4.93
Improvements	5.63	12.11
Tablets	66.90	32.29
Utilities	6.34	27.35
Funds	0	5.38
<b>Totals</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>



The percentage of *Tablets* and *Windows* decreased from Boer War memorialisation to that of WWI and the percentage of *Monuments*, *Improvements* and *Utilities* all increased. Schools generally became much more inclined to commission memorials which served a useful purpose such as chapels, assembly halls and libraries, but new sporting facilities were also widely introduced. King's Cathedral School, for instance, erected a cricket pavilion and fives courts whilst other cricket pavilions were built at Hurstpierpoint, Bradfield, Cranleigh, Monmouth Grammar, Haberdashers' Aske's Hatcham, Christ College Brecon, and Elizabeth College Guernsey. New playing fields appeared at Perse School Cambridge, Loretto, City of London, Llandovery, Bury Grammar and Tettenhall College. Swimming baths were one of the choices at the

Grammar Schools of both Monmouth and Leeds whilst Magdalen School Oxford opted for electric lighting in its chapel and Trent College Derby invested in a Headmaster's House with a garden and four acres of land. Over the entrance to that new house was a thoughtful inscription, quoted below:

within this quiet garden close, though o'er all lands our graves lie spread, still do we live, and walk with those whose thoughts are with the Dead.<sup>53</sup>

Trent had lost no former pupils in the Boer War but 101 had perished in WWI. The scale of loss at Trent, and at all other schools, meant that the dead seemed much more present in the years following the war's cessation in 1918.

Monuments, that is structures serving no practical purpose, increased, in percentage terms, over four-fold, with cenotaphs being introduced at Beaumont and Wyggeston Grammar; memorial gateways at Clifton and Trent; crosses at Blundell's and St. John's Leatherhead; and a memorial calvary at St. Edward's Oxford. The Bronze Freize at Eton was inscribed with the names, in alphabetical order, of the 1,157 who perished but, as mentioned, the main memorial for this college was in the form of educational bursaries granted to the sons of its dead alumni. Eton had firmly moved away from a bricks-and-mortar type of memorial but that was certainly not the case at most other locations.

Charterhouse had erected a very substantial cloister in honour of those Carthusians who had served and died in South Africa but now commissioned a new chapel to remember those who served and died in WWI. *The Times* gave a description which testified to the size and quality of the building two weeks prior to its consecration in

<sup>53</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 73.

1927,<sup>54</sup> and later reported that the cost had been £75,000.<sup>55</sup> Harrow erected a large memorial building following WWI, having considerably enlarged its chapel following the Boer War, whilst Uppingham followed its gymnasium/concert-hall/armoury complex, opened in 1905, with a Great Hall, opened in 1924. Dulwich College had built the handsome memorial library, described in detail in Chapter Four,<sup>56</sup> to remember its South African War dead but now chose an immense memorial cross which rested on an octagonal pedestal, itself constructed above steps on a dedicated site in the school grounds, to remember its casualties from WWI. Winchester too embarked on what turned out to be an even more elaborate Great War memorial, in the form of a cloister, than its Boer War entrance gate. In summary, then, both functional and large ornamental memorials increased between the first and third decades of the twentieth century, all at the expense of the previously popular tablets and stained-glass windows. The categories of individual invited to unveil them, however, did not markedly change and a comparative analysis of those individuals is the subject of the next segment.

### *Unveilers*

A graphic representation of Boer War school unveilers was given in Chapter Five,<sup>57</sup> and it is reproduced overleaf as a reminder and so that it might be easily compared with a new graphic (appearing at the foot of the following page) which provides the same information in relation to the Great War.<sup>58</sup>

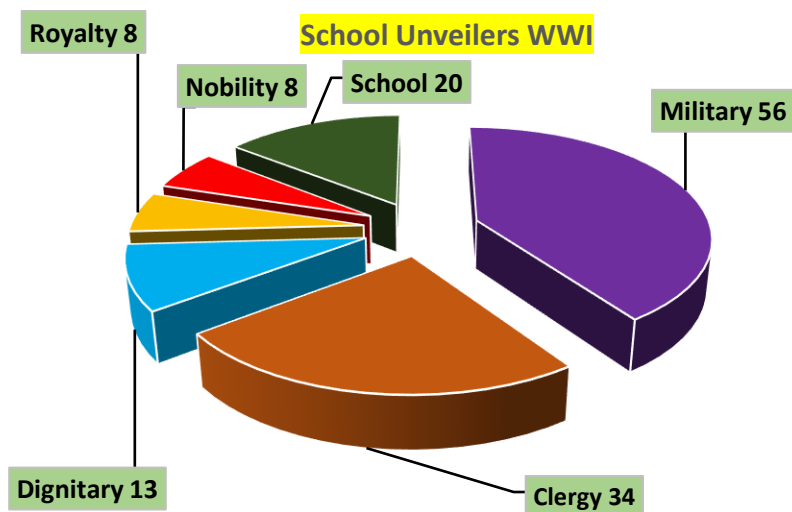
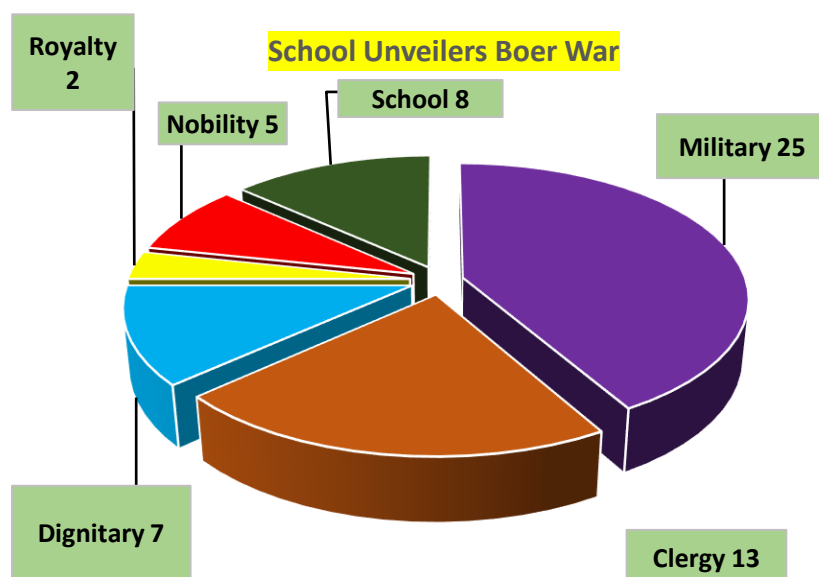
<sup>54</sup> "War Memorial Chapel At Charterhouse." *Times* [London, England] 2 June 1927: 13. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 12 May 2016.

<sup>55</sup> "War Memorial Chapel At Charterhouse." *Times* [London, England] 16 June 1927: 18. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 12 May 2016.

<sup>56</sup> Chapter Four, *Memorial Design and Construction*, page 223.

<sup>57</sup> Chapter Five, *Unveiling Ceremonies*, page 250.

<sup>58</sup> The information for this graphic comes, mainly, from Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*. but also from personal visits to schools and repositories.



The comparison figures, both in actual and percentage terms, are now detailed in the following table and the percentages are broadly similar even though the Great War sample is much larger.

<i>Category</i>	<i>Boer War</i>		<i>Great War</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Military</i>	25	41.67	56	40.29
<i>Clergy</i>	13	21.67	34	24.46
<i>Dignitary</i>	7	11.67	13	9.35
<i>Royalty</i>	2	3.33	8	5.76
<i>Nobility</i>	5	8.33	8	5.76
<i>School</i>	8	13.33	20	14.38
<b><i>Totals</i></b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Military unveilers were still, by far, the most popular choice for school unveilings in the 1920s followed, as before, by clergy. Schools continued to hold a preference for unveilers who were also old boys – Fettes, Bloxham, Clifton, Derby and University College all chose past pupils who had become members of the military whilst Sedbergh and Uppingham chose alumni who had become men of the cloth. Those with a connection to the school were the choice at City of Oxford (President of the Old Boys’ Club) and Bury (senior master). Other categories of unveiler remained about the same but what was different was that many more clergy officiated at unveilings and they were more serious occasions.

The table presented above shows that unveilers of Great War memorials have been found in respect of 139 schools and that thirty-four of those unveilers were members of the clergy. Of the balance of 105 schools, clergy were present at unveiling in at least sixty-nine cases, sometimes in force. At King’s Rochester, for example, the Bishop of Rochester was attended by a sacristan and was in the company of the Dean, the Archdeacon and the Precentor of Rochester Cathedral.<sup>59</sup> At Lancing College

<sup>59</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 71.

Prince Henry, who unveiled the new memorial cloister, was greeted by Bishop Southwell and conducted to the chapel where he was met by a procession which included the Bishop of Chichester, together with clerical members of his staff, and Canon H.T. Bowlby, a former headmaster.<sup>60</sup> Downside School, near Bath, opened its memorial, a new nave of the Abbey Church, in 1925 and the ceremony was attended by 'Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster, the Archbishop of Cardiff, the Bishops of Clifton and Lancaster, Bishops Vaughan, Butt and Keatinge, Monsignor Provost Russell, and other Roman Catholic dignatories (sic)'.<sup>61</sup> Also present was Cardinal Gasquet who conveyed the blessing of the Pope.

Why should so many more clergy have been present at school unveilings? Had the schools' community become more religious? To begin with, Protestantism has been shown, in this thesis,<sup>62</sup> to have been the religious outlook of the vast majority of schools studied and most of those schools embraced the Church of England code of belief. That Church wholeheartedly supported WWI, and in a way which was not evident during the Boer War. Indeed, some clerics, for example Edward Lee Hicks, Bishop of Lincoln, strenuously opposed the South African War, yet enthusiastically argued that the Great War was a necessity.<sup>63</sup> It follows that the successful prosecution of the war would have been widely celebrated by clergy.

<sup>60</sup> "Prince Henry At Lancing." *Times* [London, England] 27 June 1927: 19. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 17 May 2016.

<sup>61</sup> "Downside Abbey." *Times* [London, England] 27 July 1925: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 17 May 2016.

<sup>62</sup> Chapter Two, *Men Memorialised*, page 136.

<sup>63</sup> M. C. Curthoys, 'Hicks, Edward Lee (1843–1919)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33853, [accessed 9 Oct 2016].

The impact of WWI on schools was huge. As mentioned in the opening paragraph of this chapter,<sup>64</sup> the number of WWI deaths from just 138 schools shockingly exceeded the *total* number of Boer War deaths on the British side. A more serious response than that provided earlier would obviously have been called for. The chapel, as mentioned in Chapter Four page 200, was considered, at the time, to be the school focal point. Arthur Peppin was quoted in that chapter as remarking ‘nearest the core of ... love and loyalty for ... a school’ was the ‘chapel and its services’.<sup>65</sup> Also quoted were the governors of St John’s who considered the chapel to be ‘the centre and source of the School’s life’.<sup>66</sup> In such circumstances, and also bearing in mind that many school headmasters, and teachers, had been ordained, the chapel was the obvious place to which to turn for coming to terms with the huge casualty count. Clergy would have found a welcome both from the organisers of memorialisation events and their attendees.

The greater emphasis on religion, however, should not be mistaken for an increase in belief. Keith Robbins points out that a loss of religious faith has ‘often been taken to be one of the major legacies of the war’, and he wonders if, in its aftermath ‘Christianity remained central in life as well as in death’.<sup>67</sup> Callum Brown observes that ‘evidence mounted’, as early as 1918/1919, ‘that the working classes, and especially male soldiers, were turning against the churches of their youth’.<sup>68</sup> Brown

<sup>64</sup> p. 286

<sup>65</sup> Peppin, A.H., (1927) ‘Public Schools And Their Music’ in Morris, A., (ed.), (2014) *Music In Independent Schools*, Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer Ltd. p.165.

<sup>66</sup> *Johnian*, vol. XXXVIII, no.1, January 1923. p.1.

<sup>67</sup> Robbins, K., (2010) *England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales: The Christian Church 1900-2000*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 155.

<sup>68</sup> Brown, C.G., (2006) *Religion And Society In Twentieth-century Britain*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited. p.107.

also provides a case study of a Church of England vicar who, in a letter to *Church Times*, expressed his dismay that so many of his returning parishioners had ‘lost all their grip on religion’.<sup>69</sup> In fact the Church’s strong support of the Great War resulted in a weakening of its power and influence in the 1920s and it is apparent that men of the cloth were well aware that a drift was taking place. No evidence has been found of such a weakening in schools but, in the general circumstances, there was a clear need, from a clerical viewpoint, to be fully identified with commemoration in order to continue being regarded as central to the life of schools. Their increased presence at school ceremonies could well indicate that clergy saw such events as opportunities to arrest, or at least slow, any school trend toward a decline in belief. Whatever changes in school-boy belief may, or may not, have been happening, religious observance in their places of education was quite pronounced in 1920s unveiling ceremonies.

Why should school unveilings have become more serious? WWI school unveilings were undoubtedly more sombre occasions than their Boer counterparts. Commemoration at Sedbergh was found to have been, in 1904, a background event but in July 1924 it was the main business of the day. The Bishop of Croydon was reported, in 1904, as having distributed prizes and *additionally* unveiled a tablet at Whitgift. However, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Major-General Sir John Raynsford Longley, who respectively dedicated a Cross and Tablet at the same school in 1924, had no other duties to perform on that day.<sup>70</sup> Edward VII had undertaken several tasks at Wellington’s unveiling in 1907 but opening the College’s WWI memorial was the only duty allocated to his brother, the Duke of Connaught, in

<sup>69</sup> Brown, C.G., (2006) *Religion And Society In Twentieth-century Britain*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited. p.107.

<sup>70</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 170.



October 1922.<sup>71</sup> At Clifton College the annual cricket match associated with the Guthrie Commemoration was commenced on Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> June 1922,<sup>72</sup> and the related chapel service held on Saturday 1<sup>st</sup> July,<sup>73</sup> leaving Friday 30<sup>th</sup> June free for Field-Marshal Earl Haig, an alumnus of the College, to unveil its Memorial Gateway. It will be recalled that all similar events had been crammed into the one day, Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> June, at the 1904 unveiling of the Boer memorial. Derby School's unveiling in 1905 had been overshadowed by prize-giving to celebrate academic and career achievement, but no business was undertaken on Friday 11<sup>th</sup> November 1921 other than to unveil and dedicate a memorial obelisk of Portland stone in front of the school's main entrance.

St. Olave's and St. Saviour's School provides the best example. Its memorial was unveiled on Friday 21<sup>st</sup> July 1922 and its prize-giving that year took place a week later, on Thursday 27<sup>th</sup>. William Reynolds-Stephens, President of the Royal British Sculptors' Society, officiated at the first event and Herbert Henry Asquith, Prime Minister at the outbreak of war, at the second. In the aftermath of the Boer War both matters would have been scheduled for the same day, especially as these men were well-known public figures and either would have been a very acceptable choice for the two occasions. Olave's deliberately kept the ceremonies apart, however, so as to run no risk of diluting the solemnity of the unveiling. These examples demonstrate that the mood was much more sombre in the 1920s and the reason can be found in the huge loss of life, the fact that the bereaved were more centre-stage, and that the WWI opponent was viewed as evil as opposed to the Boer opponent being primarily

<sup>71</sup> "Wellington College War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 25 Oct. 1922: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 May 2016.

<sup>72</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Saturday 1 July 1922.

<sup>73</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Monday 3 July 1922.

bothersome. A more serious atmosphere demanded that, as well as unveilings not being coincided with celebratory events, such as prize-giving, a different approach should be made in the speeches given and it is to that topic that this chapter will now turn.

### *Speeches*

It was demonstrated in Chapter Five that the principal mission of those who unveiled Boer War memorials at schools was to validate school values. Those unveilers consequently delivered messages which affirmed that the dead had acquired their codes of conduct at school and had used them to benefit others, whilst enhancing the reputation of the school. The ceremonies were largely of a celebratory nature, thus allowing other school celebrations, such as prize-giving, to take place at the same time. By the 1920s, however, a mood of disillusionment had set in and the requirement for unveilers, and the accompanying clergy, was to authenticate the loss of life and motivate present pupils to appropriately respond if called upon to defend their country and school in future. This section will show that there was a recognition of post-war disappointment and dissatisfaction from mid-1922 onward and that ‘Empire’ was seen as the immediate remedy. It will demonstrate that unveilers sought to justify the war by describing the enemy as evil and the school dead as heroes. Their unveiling speeches relied heavily on the words ‘duty’ and ‘sacrifice’ – words designed to motivate pupils for the future.

### *Disillusionment and Empire*

The Duke of York unveiled a memorial at The Leys, Cambridge, on Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> July 1922 and spoke of the 149 who had died as having added lustre to the traditions of the

school. 'The passage of time', the Duke continued, has 'brought us to a situation which [offers] little or nothing of the heroic', and 'disenchantment with the new order of life', not expected during the years of war, has, 'to some extent overtaken'.<sup>74</sup> He went on to suggest that anxieties now being faced might appear 'sordid' in comparison with those experienced during the war, but that they 'must be faced if the Empire was to live': only by preserving the ideals for which the Old Leysians had given their lives could 'our Empire be set on its feet, and the wounds still [afflicting] the country be gradually healed'.<sup>75</sup> The Duke had correctly diagnosed the air of malcontent: Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin was to admit, in 1923, that 'to many the last five years have been a disenchantment',<sup>76</sup> whilst Winter would later describe victory as having 'a taste of ashes'<sup>77</sup> and Tosh observe that the war became 'a shorthand for pointless slaughter'.<sup>78</sup> To the Duke, however, part, if not all, of the problem's solution lay in the preservation of the British Empire. In his speech at Leys he was anticipating the colonial exhibition of 1924 which, asserts Kenneth Walthew, opened 'amid scenes of near-hysterical patriotic fervour' and upon which 'the nation pinned its hopes for a bright future in a singularly depressing present'.<sup>79</sup> The exhibition served to emphasise the importance of empire and it, empire, came to be generally seen as 'a panacea for [the] economic problems' of the years following WWI.<sup>80</sup> Discontent, however, would eventually win the day and Stuart Ward, writing in 2001, maintains that 'the prevailing

<sup>74</sup> *Scotsman* – Friday 7 July 1922.

<sup>75</sup> "Duke Of York At Leys School." *Times* [London, England] 7 July 1922: 16. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 19 May 2016.

<sup>76</sup> "Board Of Trade War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 20 Dec. 1923: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 19 May 2016.

<sup>77</sup> Winter, J., *Sites Of Memory, Sites Of Mourning*, 227.

<sup>78</sup> Tosh, J. (2008) *Why History Matters*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p.64.

<sup>79</sup> Walthew, K. (1981) 'The British Empire Exhibition Of 1924', in *History Today*, vol. 31, issue 8. London: History Today Ltd. p.34.

<sup>80</sup> Olson, J.S., and Shadle, R., (eds.) (1996) *Historical Dictionary Of The British Empire, Volume 1*, Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press. p.413.

orthodoxy holds that ‘ordinary Britons’ had grown indifferent to, or even positively hostile towards, the imperial ideal from the 1940s onwards’.<sup>81</sup>

Several speakers took up the empire theme. Mrs Bulloch, a lady whose connection to Tettenhall College has not presently been able to be established, said, on presenting a flag to the institution’s headmaster, that it was her ‘tribute, not only to the Old Boys who have fallen, but to a School where such a fine spirit exists and where so much is done to make our boys worthy citizens of a great and glorious Empire’.<sup>82</sup> Admiral Sir Frederick Charles Doveton Sturdee who unveiled a statue at Malvern observed that ‘there were insidious dangers within the Empire’ and that ‘it was the duty of all to defend [it] when danger came’<sup>83</sup> whilst Prince Henry, speaking at Lancing College commented ‘on the value to the Empire of the public schools, with the great tradition they embodied’.<sup>84</sup> Lieutenant-General Sir George Montague Harper, when unveiling a Cross at Rugby, referred to ‘the resources of Empire’; Colonel C.P. Heywood, speaking at Denstone College, referenced the empire as being united throughout the war years, and at City of Oxford School Sir Oswyn Murray, Secretary to the Admiralty and President of the Old Boys’ Club, noted that ‘the Great War [had] been fought in the Playing Fields and Classrooms of every school throughout the Empire’.<sup>85</sup>

Uppingham School commissioned two memorials, a Shrine in its chapel, dedicated by the Bishop of Southampton, an Old Uppinghamian, on Sunday 16<sup>th</sup> October 1921,<sup>86</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Ward, S., (ed.) (2001) *British Culture And The End Of Empire*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. p.2.

<sup>82</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 131.

<sup>83</sup> *Gloucester Citizen* – Monday 10 July 1922

<sup>84</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* – Monday 27 June 1927.

<sup>85</sup> Kernot, *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 59, 103 and 62.

<sup>86</sup> *Grantham Journal* – Saturday 22 October 1921.

and a Great Hall opened by Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Harington on Tuesday 5<sup>th</sup> July 1924. Harington told the audience that those ex-pupils being commemorated had given ‘their all for their King and country and for Uppingham’ and he called upon boys present to follow their example and help preserve ‘the best old Empire in the world’.<sup>87</sup> The emphasis on empire was designed to give a sense of pride and to indicate that a boy’s employment prospects might lie in that attractive direction. The message was accompanied by others to the effect that a mighty threat had been averted by past-pupil heroism – summed up in the two words which head up the next section.

### *Duty and Sacrifice*

The Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Theodore Woods, speaking at Epsom College in February 1925 said:

In 1914 Europe was sick with the morbid growth of blatant commercialism, unfettered national ambitions, of the crass selfishness of nations, groups, and classes. To drain away the septic poison of false ideas, the very cream of our manhood gave their lives.<sup>88</sup>

Dr. Woods went on to ask if the old order of international politics had been destroyed and if there was any evidence that today’s world was stepping upward to a higher level of reason, neighbourliness, and friendship. ‘It was the younger generation’, the Bishop concluded, ‘which would have to say whether they were prepared to break forth out of old ruts and have the courage to adopt new methods of treatment for the political and industrial diseases from which so far we have suffered’.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *Grantham Journal* – Saturday 5 July 1924.

<sup>88</sup> *Aberdeen Journal* – Monday 23 February 1925.

<sup>89</sup> *Aberdeen Journal* – Monday 23 February 1925.

Woods had taken his text from The Revelation of St. John The Devine which speaks of the leaves of the tree of life being used for the healing of nations.<sup>90</sup> He referred to the legend that the Cross was part of that tree and said that only by the sign of the Cross, which meant ‘service and sacrifice, even unto death, could the woes of the world be healed’.<sup>91</sup> Woods obviously felt that the peoples of Europe were morally bankrupt at the beginning of the Great War but had now been provided with an opportunity to retrieve their situation.

Henry Wace, Dean of Canterbury and Chairman of Governors at Langton Boys’ School performed the unveiling of a tablet in the school hall on Tuesday 24<sup>th</sup> May 1921. In attendance were an additional five members of the clergy but the place of honour was assigned to relatives of those being commemorated. Dr. Wace first reminded his audience that eighty-nine of those Old Boys who had gone to war had made the supreme sacrifice of death, but that many who had returned were making a similar sacrifice in maimed and suffering lives. He rhetorically asked why, of their own free will, the boys had made that sacrifice and he put forward a three-fold answer – to honour a pledge to ‘maintain the independence of a small country’ [Belgium]; to maintain the freedom gained by ‘our fathers’ over ‘centuries of work and war’; and to retain control of the seas, which he regarded as being ‘the very means of our daily bread’: ‘We have inherited’, he continued, a ‘true, godly, pure and free life’ which ‘cannot be maintained unless you are prepared to sacrifice your lives’.<sup>92</sup> In order to

<sup>90</sup> *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments*. [Authorised King James Version] (undated) London: Collins Bible. The Revelation of St. John The Devine, chapter 22, verse 2, page 247. ‘In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, *was there* the tree of life, which bare twelve *manner* of fruits, *and* yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree *were* for the healing of the nations.

<sup>91</sup> "Epsom College Memorial Chapel." *Times* [London, England] 23 Feb. 1925: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 19 May 2016.

<sup>92</sup> *Langtonian*, July 1921, Volume 11, number five, new series, p.227.

arrive at this conclusion Dr Wace had taken as his text ‘And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission’.<sup>93</sup> As matters turned out, it was ironic that Wace should have mentioned honouring a pledge. Shortly after the tablet unveiling it was discovered that two names had been omitted, those of A.N. Kennedy and A.L. Barker. The school magazine reported the fact in July 1921 and stated that their names would be engraved ‘shortly’.<sup>94</sup> They never were, and the brass is now in the school’s Reception Hall, unamended.<sup>95</sup>

Fettes College, Edinburgh, chose, as its WWI memorial, a bronze figure of a mortally wounded young officer in a kilt lying on top of, what David McDowell, head of Government & Politics at the school, describes as ‘an austere stone box’.<sup>96</sup> It was unveiled in 1921 at a service attended by so many of the relatives of those being commemorated that there was room in the chapel for only a handful of boys. Major-General Sir William Macpherson, a former pupil who performed the ceremony, told his audience that ‘duty and sacrifice are the foundations upon which the patriotism, justice and freedom, the birthright of every citizen of our great empire are firmly and everlastingly fixed’.<sup>97</sup> Uppingham’s headmaster mentioned ‘duty’ and ‘service’ as being ‘two splendid words’ which had ‘inspired’ the fallen and which ‘must be the future watch-word of the School’.<sup>98</sup> Cardinal Bourne, speaking at Stonyhurst said that the memorial ‘reminded the student that duty had to be carried out even at the greatest

<sup>93</sup> *The Holy Bible*, The Epistle of Paul The Apostle To The Hebrews, chapter 9, verse 22, page 213

<sup>94</sup> *Langtonian*, July 1921, Volume 11, number five, new series, p.230.

<sup>95</sup> Barker, Janeen (jbarker@thelangton.kent.sch.uk), 2016. *Re Commemoration*. 29 April. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>96</sup> McDowell, D., (2012) *Carrying On: Fettes College, War And The World 1870-2010*, Beauchamp, Leicestershire: Matador, an imprint of Troubador Publishing Ltd. p.1.

<sup>97</sup> McDowell, D., *Carrying On*., 291.

<sup>98</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 117

cost'.<sup>99</sup> At Winchester, in June 1924, the Bishop of that diocese read a prayer which included a thanksgiving 'for our brothers, here to be constantly remembered, who in unflinching courage, laying down their lives at duty's call, in their measure shared', and the Duke of Connaught added 'England has no finer instance of the devotion of its sons than this of those Wykehamists who went out from here to battle for King and country'.<sup>100</sup> At Taunton School, Lord Eustace Percy, President of the Board of Education, said that the men being commemorated knew 'instinctively what their duty was' and he considered that the whole of a boy's education should lead up to the settling of a will to undertake some work, or render some service, to the community.<sup>101</sup>

Oakham school had invited the Lord Bishop of Ossory, himself an Old Boy and one of six officiating clergy, and he told those present that they 'had come there that day' to 'thank god for [the] loyalty, ... courage, ... devotion to duty, and ... self-sacrifice' of the Old Oakhamians who had died.<sup>102</sup> He appealed to the boys to do 'their duty bravely and unselfishly, so that they might hand on ... the Shining Lamp which' had been handed to them 'undimmed and clear'.<sup>103</sup> The Bishop of Durham, speaking at Durham School, reminded the boys that 'life was filled with great alternatives in which the claim of a man's duty might be suddenly invested with the sombre majesty of tragedy'.<sup>104</sup> The knowledge that 'the boys of Durham', he went on to say, had 'played the man and, at cruel cost' had done their part 'in saving freedom would add something to the forces from Above which made the right choice possible'.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>99</sup> *Burnley News* – Wednesday 28 June 1922.

<sup>100</sup> "Winchester War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 2 June 1924: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 18 May 2016.

<sup>101</sup> *Taunton Courier, and Western Advertiser* – Wednesday 7 October 1925.

<sup>102</sup> *Grantham Journal* – Saturday 31 October 1925

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* – Friday 1 October 1926

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*



At Sedbergh, a cloister was dedicated by the Archbishop of Melbourne, also an Old Boy, and tablets were unveiled by Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Harington who declared that those who had served and died in the war had done ‘their best for King, country and Sedbergh’.<sup>106</sup> At the suburb of Clifton, Bristol, Field-Marshal Haig told those present that they were met together ‘to set the seal to the latest (and not the least) glorious page in the history of Clifton College’: additionally that the memorial he had unveiled paid ‘tribute to the splendour of the sacrifice [his old school-fellows had] made for King and country’.<sup>107</sup> Haig also made reference to an empire ‘received from the hands of our forefathers’ ‘that is yet greater in ideals and qualities’, defining that second mass noun, as Methuen might also have done in 1904, as ‘courage, manliness and truth, clean living and honest dealing’.<sup>108</sup> At Derby, Lieutenant-Colonel George Alfred Lewis, an Old Derbeian, performed the ceremony, the headmaster read the names, and an address was made by the Bishop of Derby. Alderman Laurie, Chairman of the Governors, informed those who attended that sixty-two percent of the Old Boys who served had gained commissions; twenty percent had laid down their lives; seventy percent gained decorations, and fifty-four were mentioned in dispatches.<sup>109</sup> The number and percentages were obviously a great source of pride to all concerned.

Bury Grammar had not unveiled its Boer War memorial until late 1911 and had coincided the event with a prize-giving. Its WWI memorial, however, was unveiled in early 1924 and the unveiler was Mr James Legge Norton, the senior master at the school. Following a reading of names and a dedicatory prayer, Norton turned to the

<sup>106</sup> "Sedbergh School War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 7 July 1924: 20. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 16 May 2016.

<sup>107</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Saturday 1 July 1922.

<sup>108</sup> *Western Daily Press* – Saturday 1 July 1922.

<sup>109</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 98.

memorial and said ‘Heroic souls, who laid down your lives for us! This day we salute you with gratitude and affection’.<sup>110</sup> The mood at Radley College was equally serious, in contrast to 1904 when prize-giving, lunch, speeches and reciprocal toasting was followed by a garden party and glees from the choir. On this WWI occasion, Wednesday 31<sup>st</sup> May 1922, a memorial archway was unveiled by Sir William Robertson following a service of dedication performed by the Bishop of Oxford. 219 alumni, seven masters and eight servants had died and the inscription on the archway read: ‘In proud and grateful memory of all those who *gave* their lives in the Great War’.<sup>111</sup>

Pride, reverence and gratitude were evident in many speeches. *The Times* reported that Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Harington, in an address made during the lighting of a lamp at Eastbourne College, said he had observed people ‘slinking by the Cenotaph, motoring by, rushing by, with never a thought: they should be proud to salute every war memorial’.<sup>112</sup> *The Times* left it at that but *Gloucestershire Echo* also reported the General as commenting that he would ‘cheerfully puncture the tyres of any motor’ which rushed past and would ‘like to see fines imposed for such offences, the money to be devoted to the needs of the maimed and blind’.<sup>113</sup> These, and previous, comments indicate the depth of emotion felt at the unveiling of WWI memorials – a depth not noticeably reached at Boer ceremonies in schools.

<sup>110</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 18.

<sup>111</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 199-200. Italics have been added to the word ‘gave’ to emphasise Alex King’s point, mentioned on page 294, and to indicate that, in my own opinion, lives were *taken*, not *given*.

<sup>112</sup> “Eastbourne College War Memorial.” *Times* [London, England] 29 June 1925: 11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 20 May 2016.

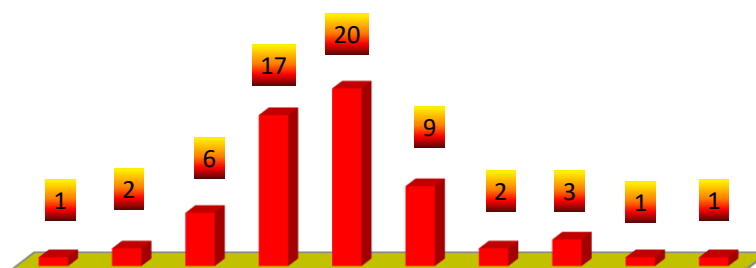
<sup>113</sup> *Gloucestershire Echo* – Tuesday 30 June 1925.

Those who made unveiling speeches in the 1920s then, concentrated on the themes of empire, to instil pride and provide hope, and duty/sacrifice, to justify the war and ready the minds of boys for possible future conflicts. Duty and sacrifice had also been Boer War unveiling themes but in a way which was reflective and not particularly used with an eye to the future. The increased use of the same theme in relation to WWI was to counter post-war disillusionment and to convey the idea that the war had been worthwhile, whatever the horrific human cost. Also, possibly in an effort to deflect post-war cynicism and disappointment by paying greater homage to the dead, WWI memorials were, as has been demonstrated, more elaborate. As a result, they took, on average, longer to complete. Various dates have already been mentioned but the following section will deal with the subject in more detail and compare findings with the dates on which South African memorials were unveiled

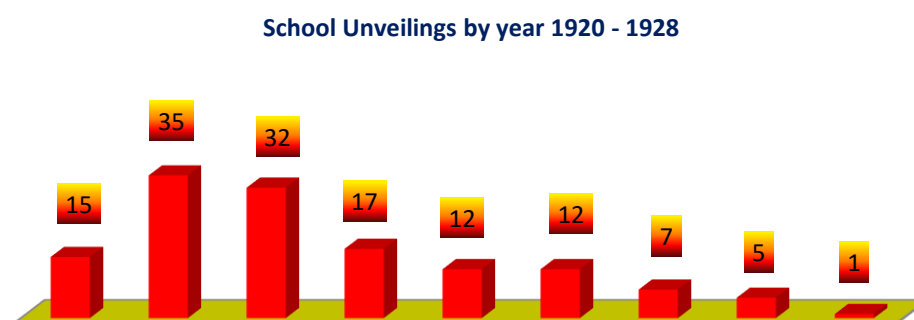
### *Unveiling Dates*

The Boer War ended on Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> May 1902, but the earliest school memorial unveiling found by this study occurred at Blundell's on Wednesday 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1900, at which time only six of the thirteen men whose names would eventually appear on a brass below a stained-glass window had actually died.

**School Unveilings by year 1900 - 1909**



Two other memorials appeared before the war end, but the peak time occurred in the years 1903-1905 when almost three-quarters of the remembrance items found were unveiled. The topic was discussed in Chapter Five and a graph of unveilings in the years 1900 through 1909 was provided. It is reproduced above as a reminder. Against the First World War 136 unveiling dates have been discovered and a graphic of those findings appears below.<sup>114</sup>



The early unveilings for the South African war were precipitated by the belief, in December 1900, that the end of the conflict was in sight. *The Times* reported, on the first day of that month, that Roberts had already left Johannesburg and was on his way to Capetown by way of Durban, having handed over command to Kitchener. ‘After the laborious and difficult operations which [Roberts] has conducted to a successful issue’, *The Times* continued, ‘it is only natural that he should be willing to place in other hands the work that remains to be done’.<sup>115</sup> It must have seemed inconceivable, at that time, that the war would drag on for another full eighteen months. No such possibility of an early finish to WWI was signalled, once the original hope that it would be over by Christmas 1914 had been dashed, so the earliest unveiling took place

<sup>114</sup> The information for this graphic comes, mainly, from Kernot, *British Public Schools War Memorials*, but also from personal visits to schools and repositories.

<sup>115</sup> "It is officially announced by the War Office that." *Times* [London, England] 1 Dec. 1900: 11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 21 May 2016.

on Tuesday 27<sup>th</sup> January 1920 at Bootham School, York, twenty-six months after the war had ended. An earlier event, that of a Memorial Calvary at St. Edward's School, Oxford, was scheduled to take place on Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> December 1919 and is actually listed by the Imperial War Museum,<sup>116</sup> and in Kernot's book as having done so.<sup>117</sup> The Prince of Wales made a national appeal in 1918 that all schools should consider a memorial to remember 'the glorious dead' and Edward's began collecting monies from Old Boys, parents and staff, although funds were slow to arrive with the result that the Calvary was unveiled exactly one year later on Thursday 16<sup>th</sup> December 1920.<sup>118</sup>

The last two Great War memorials to be unveiled were those at Lancing college, on Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> June 1927, and Leeds Grammar on Monday 21<sup>st</sup> May 1928, but the majority, over 60%, occurred in the years 1921-1923. On average, it took rather longer for schools to erect WWI memorials than those commemorating the Boer War, but, as has been demonstrated, the later memorials were more complex and would have taken a longer amount of time to prepare. Lancing and Leeds, being the last two unveilings, provide good examples of complex memorials. The Lancing cloister is an elaborate structure, over 100 feet in length, and the entire work was carried out by the college staff of masons and others already working on school buildings. The boys assisted in clearing the site for the cloister, and construction material, Sussex sandstone, was sourced locally at Scaynes Hill with the obvious intention of blending into the existing

<sup>116</sup> *Imperial War Museums* [Online], Research, Search UK War Memorials, Available: [http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search?utm\\_source=ukniwm&utm\\_medium=rw&utm\\_campaign=wmalaunch](http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search?utm_source=ukniwm&utm_medium=rw&utm_campaign=wmalaunch). WM reference 47394, [accessed 21 May 2016].

<sup>117</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 52.

<sup>118</sup> Nathan, Chris (NathanC@stedwardsoxford.org), 2016. *Re War commemoration*. 22 May. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

surroundings.<sup>119</sup> The Leeds Grammar memorial is a ‘swimming hall’, the entrance to which is ‘a shrine which perpetuates the names of the fallen’, and the whole building was described as ‘one of the finest swimming baths [possessed by] any school in the country’.<sup>120</sup> The unveiler at Lancing was H.R.H. Prince Henry, third son of King George V and Queen Mary, whilst at Leeds the Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding, the Bishop of Ripon, the Vicar of Leeds, the Bishop of Knaresborough, the Lord Mayor, the Town Clerk and the Chief Constable were all present. The high rank of attending dignitaries at both schools indicates that each would have needed to plan their unveiling ceremonies well in advance, partly accounting for the fact that they were the last to unveil. Amongst the earliest unveilings were representations of St George who appears, with or without his dragon, in fifteen of the WWI memorials being discussed, seven of them having been unveiled in the period 1920/1922. George was a figure already widely used in Boer War commemoration but one whose appeal, and presence, seems to have increased by the 1920s. His representation at many of schools where he is depicted on WWI memorials is the subject of the next section.

### *St. George*

The figure of St. George appears at seventeen of the schools whose Great War memorials have been studied and at ten of the Boer War memorials. There is, however, a difference in the employment of his image. On Boer memorials George has been found illustrated alongside, for example, saints Peter, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Andrew, Patrick, Mary, John, Christopher, Cyprian, Lawrence, Stephen and James. In WWI commemoration he appears mostly alone but has also been located

<sup>119</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 203-204.

<sup>120</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* – Tuesday 22 May 1928.

alongside saints Joan, Martin of Tours, and Alban. He additionally features, in stained-glass at Rydal School, Colwyn Bay, with Sir Galahad.<sup>121</sup> In the Great War images found of St. George, then, he tends to be the single depiction or else appears with other warrior figures: the representation at Rydal being particularly interesting, as Galahad was one of the achievers of the Holy Grail who, during his quest, destroyed enemies and rescued maidens in distress. George is consequently more aggressive on WWI memorials, reflecting the assertion made earlier in the chapter that the South African war was seen more as a family squabble,<sup>122</sup> whereas the Great War was viewed as the defeat of evil. His various depictions on 1920s memorial is the subject of the next few paragraphs.

The photograph at the head of Chapter Five showed the statue of George sculpted for Clifton College by Alfred Drury as its Boer War memorial and Drury was also the modeller and carver for two more statues commissioned for WWI commemoration at schools. These are at Malvern and Denstone and both effigies are very similar to that unveiled at Clifton College, twenty-one years before, to the day, in the case of Denstone and, approximately, eighteen years before in the case of Malvern.

Illustrations of these statues, and the plinths upon which they stand, appear on the following page and the origins of the photographs are as foot-noted.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 240

<sup>122</sup> Page 295.

<sup>123</sup> Malvern photograph reproduced by permission of its author, Dudley, Sue (sue.dudley@sky.com), 2016. *Re St. George war memorial at Malvern College*. 14 June. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie). Denstone photograph taken during a visit to the College 28 August 2016.



**Denstone College**



**Malvern College**

St. George also occupies a prominent position at The Leys and Wellington. At Leys, he is placed in full armour at the centre of a Mural Tablet and to either side are two panels containing the names of the 149 alumni who perished. An idea of the size of the figure may be gleaned from the fact that it is taller than each of the four panels. Below are the words ‘My marks and scars I carry with me to be a witness for me that I have fought His battles, who now will be my rewarder’.<sup>124</sup> The quotation comes from John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* and was clearly employed to imply that those who had died in the war would receive a heavenly reward. At Wellington, a white stone figure of St. George slaying the dragon stands atop a black marble column in front of which is an unfurled Union Jack ‘painted in proper colours’.<sup>125</sup> The saint was also prominent at Westminster School on a fifteen feet high memorial screen of British Oak, the centre of which was carried higher in the form of a curved pediment. Into this pediment was carved George, in armour on a white horse and with the dragon

<sup>124</sup> Noted during a visit to The Leys School, Cambridge, Tuesday 21<sup>st</sup> January 2014.

<sup>125</sup> *Imperial War Museums* [Online], Research, Search UK War Memorials, Available: [http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search?utm\\_source=ukniwm&utm\\_medium=rw&utm\\_campaign=wmalaunch](http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search?utm_source=ukniwm&utm_medium=rw&utm_campaign=wmalaunch). WM reference 18720, [accessed 23 September 2016].



below. The Westminster screen also featured, in a complete departure from traditional design, various WWI instruments of war such as 'gas masks, field telephones, and trench mortars',<sup>126</sup> but the whole memorial was regrettably destroyed when the school was bombed and burned out in 1941.<sup>127</sup>

At Wellingborough, George appears with St. Michael and other Warrior Saints of England and France; at Warwick, in his role as patron saint of soldiers, he stands alongside St. Nicholas, patron saint of sailors. His window at Leeds Grammar is in the entrance porch leading to the Memorial Swimming Bath, whilst at King's School, Rochester, he appears with King Arthur and St. Michael, and at Lancing he is shown with the dragon in a light at the eastern extremity of the Cloister.<sup>128</sup> At Eton, George's boyhood is depicted in tapestries, commissioned in addition to the Bronze Frieze already mentioned, and the faces of several Etonians were used as models. Bedford Grammar, in creating a memorial hall, library, store- and cloak-rooms created a niche in which to place a statue of St. George,<sup>129</sup> and Tonbridge School constructed a Gate of Remembrance leading from the Ante-Chapel into the Chapel, above which appears George, together with dragon, in bronze.<sup>130</sup> The sword of this St. George, however, is belted, indicating that his fighting days are behind him, whilst an Angel presents the saint with a Garland of Glory as reward for victory. It is an image constructed with the same intent as that of the St. George at The Leys.

<sup>126</sup> *Scotsman* – Thursday 27 October 1921.

<sup>127</sup> *Imperial War Museums* [Online], Research, Search UK War Memorials, Available: [http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search?utm\\_source=ukniwm&utm\\_medium=rw&utm\\_campaign=wmalaunch](http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/search?utm_source=ukniwm&utm_medium=rw&utm_campaign=wmalaunch). WM reference 66139, [accessed 23 September 2016].

<sup>128</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 96, 132, 167, 240, 189 and 203.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.* 44 and 24.

<sup>130</sup> "Tonbridge School War Memorial." *Times* [London, England] 12 Oct. 1925: 13. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 26 May 2016.

St George, then, is the strongest recurring theme in both Boer and WWI school memorialisation but there are also differences in the way he is depicted in each.

In the four cases of the saint being sculpted by Alfred Drury – Clifton, Harrow, Malvern and Denstone – the pose delineated on the first two, prepared for Boer War commemoration, is less aggressive than that adopted for the last two, prepared for Great War remembrance. In support of this claim the face of St. George on the Boer statue at Clifton was said to express a character of ‘fortitude and virtue without effeminacy’,<sup>131</sup> whereas that of the WWI St. George at Malvern was described as ‘strong’ and ‘majestic’; ‘intended to convey to the students the best qualities of the race, qualities worth striving for’.<sup>132</sup> The legend of St. George has already been explained in Chapter Four but it is worth quoting below the biblical origin of the dragon in order to explain why images of the saint proved so popular in WWI school commemoration.

And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world:<sup>133</sup>

Germany was seen in Britain during the war as evil, and even after the armistice Britons were called upon to recognise a violent, destructive, barbaric, drunken, German nature, as evidenced by the post-war cartoon reproduced overleaf.<sup>134</sup> Also prominently present in this poster is the cross – included as an indicator of the Christian righteousness of the British cause.

<sup>131</sup> Chapter Four, *Design and Construction*, page 210.

<sup>132</sup> Quickfall, Ian (piq@malcol.org), 2016. *Re War Commemoration*. 3 June. Email to Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>133</sup> *The Holy Bible*, Revelation, chapter 12, verse 9, 240.

<sup>134</sup> Source: Wikimedia Commons, David Wilson, illustrator, 1873-1935





Photographed at St Olave School's new location (since 1968) in Orpington,  
9 June 2016

It is worth noting that *Catholic Online* reveals that Olaf was a pirate in his youth; that the ‘harshness of his rule precipitated a revolt of the nobles’; that he was ‘not too popular during his lifetime’.<sup>136</sup> The same source goes on to comment that ‘modern historians generally agree that Olaf was inclined to violence and brutality’.<sup>137</sup> At the start of the twentieth century Olaf was certainly not regarded by the school in this light, its magazine describing ‘the sanctity of his life and the nobleness of his aims’.<sup>138</sup> The reputations of such images may well change over time but, at his unveiling, in July 1922, Olaf, as a Nordic version of St. George, was a very suitable candidate to decorate St. Olave’s and St. Saviour’s war memorial.

Statue designer William Reynolds-Stephens and sculptor Alfred Drury have already been mentioned,<sup>139</sup> but there were many prominent people involved in the design and

<sup>136</sup> *Catholic Online* [Online] St. Olaf, Available:  
[http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint\\_id=132](http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=132) [accessed 18 May 2016].

<sup>137</sup> *Catholic Online* [Online] St. Olaf of Norway, Available:  
[http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint\\_id=4899](http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=4899) [accessed 18 May 2016].

<sup>138</sup> *Olavian*, vol. V, no. 6, December 1900, p.239.

<sup>139</sup> Pages 315 and 329 respectively.

construction of the First World War memorials being analysed and they are the subject of the next part of this chapter.

### *Architects, Designers, and Builders* <sup>140</sup>

112 architects and designers have been identified, twenty-three of whom were Old Boys. One of that number, Mr Ernest Newton, of the firm Ernest Newton & Sons, died during the construction of the memorial hall at his old school, Uppingham, and the work was completed by his two sons. Newton was distinguished in his field and was elected president of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1914.<sup>141</sup> There were many other highly distinguished architects and designers who worked on WWI school memorials. Sir Herbert Baker, for example, was responsible for the arcade and dome-shaped shrine opposite the chapel at Harrow, the memorial cross at King's Canterbury, and the cloister at Winchester, and was one of the foremost imperial architects of his day. Baker spent some twenty years in South Africa having been given, in his own words, 'the opportunity for an architecture which establishes a nation' and amongst his works are the cathedrals in Pretoria and Johannesburg, Pretoria's railway station, and a medical institute in Johannesburg.<sup>142</sup>

Sir Aston Webb, whose work on the Boer War memorial at Harrow was mentioned in Chapter Four,<sup>143</sup> was the architect for WWI memorials at Christ's Hospital, Denstone

<sup>140</sup> The source for much of the information in this section is Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*.

<sup>141</sup> W. G. Newton, 'Newton, Ernest (1856–1922)', rev. Richard Morrice, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35222, [accessed 31 May 2016].

<sup>142</sup> Daniel M. Abramson, 'Baker, Sir Herbert (1862–1946)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30547, [accessed 31 May 2016].

<sup>143</sup> Chapter Four, *Design and Construction*, page 228.

College, and St. Lawrence College, Ramsgate. He had established his own architectural practice in 1874 and by the turn of the century it was the largest in England.<sup>144</sup> Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, who was apprenticed to Temple Lushington Moore at the time of the South African War, and was therefore of the next generation of distinguished architects, was responsible for the memorials at Downside, Ampleforth, Charterhouse and Beaumont.<sup>145</sup> Temple Moore himself, although primarily known for new church design, was the architect for the memorial tablet at Hurstpierpoint and the cloister at Lancing whilst Sir Reginald Theodore Blomfield, who was also noted for his Boer War commemoration work in Chapter Four, went on to design Great War memorials at Highgate, Derby and Sherborne. It is clear from this impressive list that schools commissioning remembrance work in the 1920s were at pains to employ only the very best architects and designers.

Craftsmen, like Alfred Drury, who executed and built the memorials, were also experts in their field and, of the sixty-six identified, three were also Old Boys. Some others who were engaged in the work additionally had a close connection to the school. F.W. Sargant, for instance, who sculpted the group above the west door of Oakham's memorial chapel, was the headmaster's brother. The carved oak triptych at City of Norwich School was designed by, and completed under the supervision of, the school's art master, whilst another member of staff executed the gun-metal broken

<sup>144</sup> *Alexander Architectural Archive* [Online]University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin. Available: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utaaa/00033/aaa-00033.html> [Accessed 23 October 2017]. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of Aston Webb – he is described in ODND as 'a born leader of men'; he was honoured with the 'royal gold medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects' and the 'inaugural gold medal of the American Institute of Architects' and knighted in 1904.

<sup>145</sup> Gavin Stamp, 'Scott, Sir Giles Gilbert (1880–1960)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35987>, [accessed 1 June 2016].

sword at the centre of the triptych. The sculpture and masonry of the memorial cross at Monmouth Grammar was carried out by Alfred William Ursell, the father of 2<sup>nd</sup>-Lieutenant Victor George Ursell of the Shropshire Light Infantry who was killed in action on Monday 5<sup>th</sup> March 1917.<sup>146</sup> Mercers' School, Holborn, built an organ as a memorial in the school hall, to be used every morning for prayers, and it was designed by Old Boy, and architect, Harry Courtney Constantine.<sup>147</sup> Charles Harold Bicknell, the headmaster at Mercers', constructed the organ entirely from English oak in the school workshop, using the design which Constantine had prepared.

Chapter Five detected a slight change in the social order in that three women were found to have played a part in memorial design whilst just one had been the actual unveiler of a memorial – although in that case the daughter of a mayor who had, probably, been the actual invitee. It might have been expected that, with the passage of additional years, women would be in greater evidence when considering WWI commemoration, but this has not proved to be the case. Only four female craft-persons have been found to have played a part in school WWI memorial design. Mrs Anderson, an art mistress at Hymers College, painted the school arms on a pedimented tablet unveiled at the institution on Armistice Day 1924, and Mrs Meredith Williams carved a figure of St. John the Baptist, and modelled an effigy of St. George, at Rossall School. Mrs Akers Douglas designed the tapestries at Eton and Miss Violet Alice Pinwill carved the memorial choir stalls at Weymouth College, as well as a seat presented to the same establishment by Mrs Margaret Ritson in memory of her

<sup>146</sup> TNA, 1911 Census for England and Wales, census reference RG14PN15642 RG78PN952 RD336SD2 ED2 SN123, piece 15642, and Soldiers died in the Great War 1914-1919.

<sup>147</sup> TNA, 1911 Census for England and Wales, census reference RG14PN694 RG78PN24 RD9 SD2 ED11 SN282, piece 694.



husband Francis, whom she had married only two years before his death in 1917.<sup>148</sup> In 1957, it was said, in an obituary of Miss Pinwill that well over 300 churches in Devon and Cornwall contained examples of her work and a correspondent to *The Times* commented that her achievements were ‘all the more remarkable as she entered a business life at a time when this was a very unusual step for a young woman to take’.<sup>149</sup> With regard to unveiling, the only females to perform the task at the schools investigated were Mrs Adeline Stubley, mother of John Reginald Stubley, whose name appeared on the bronze tablet she unveiled at Silcoates School on Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1920; Mrs T.G. Osborn, mother of a young man commemorated, along with fifty-four others, by a stained-window at Rydal School, and Mrs Almond, a lady whose connection with Loretto School, Musselburgh, when she unveiled an organ screen, was not specified, but who was, presumably, Eleanora Frances Almond, the widow of Hely Hutchinson Almond, a sometime headmaster of that school.<sup>150</sup> Even in the 1920s then, the activities associated with memorialisation in public/private and private schools were very much areas dominated by men.

### *Conclusion*

The First World War memorials in schools were, broadly speaking, on a grander and more elaborate scale than those erected in memory of casualties suffered in the South African War. As Alan Wilkinson has remarked, in relation to First World War remembrance objects and locations generally, ‘the size of the memorials and the importance of their sites indicate that the community believed that it was indeed “the

<sup>148</sup> TNA, England & Wales Marriages 1837-2008, Weymouth, Dorset, volume 5A, p.873.

<sup>149</sup> "Miss Violet Pinwill." *Times* [London, England] 10 Jan. 1957: 13. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 June 2016.

<sup>150</sup> M. C. Curthoys, ‘Almond, Hely Hutchinson (1832–1903)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30397>, [accessed 12 June 2016].



Great War””.<sup>151</sup> Those factors are additional indicators of the depth of emotion felt following the 1918 armistice. There was also a shift toward memorials which served a practical use, halls, libraries, cricket pitches etc., and the introduction of endowments for educational purposes. These moves form part of the reason for WWI unveilings taking more of a centre stage, and taking longer to complete, than those of the South African war. They were furthermore in tune with those who paid the bill; making the task of fundraising easier, as in the particular case of Eton where £107.5K was raised even before the end of WWI compared to the struggle to collect £30K a full six years after the Boer War had terminated.

Some ceremonies were indeed coincided with school celebratory days, as they had been in the first decade of the twentieth century, and preceding or following some occasions there was limited entertainment. The focus however was on memorialisation and the overall mood in the 1920s was darker; more solemn and serious. That seriousness reflected the enormous loss of life, the disillusionment which had set in following the armistice, and the fact that almost every family in the land had, in some way, been affected. A slightly increased percentage of clergy officiated but clergy attended in greater numbers and were invariably present when military men or dignitaries performed ceremonies. The reasons for more clergy attending, and the willingness of schools to accept their attendance, have been thoroughly discussed. It should be once more emphasised here, however, that clergy, together with the established church, were more supportive of the Great War than its

<sup>151</sup> Wilkinson, A., (1978) *The Church Of England And The First World War*, London: SPCK Publishing. p.297.

Boer predecessor and perhaps the relationship between the two groups was therefore more comfortable in the 1920s.

Religion received an immediate boost, both in schools and the country at large, following the lead, after the announcement of an armistice from the eleventh hour of the eleventh month, when parliamentarians and the general public alike flocked to religious ceremonies. This was followed eight months later by a National Thanksgiving Day, observed in all parts of the country by 'Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Nonconformists alike' whilst in London's Trafalgar Square a 'united service' took place and in 'many provincial towns similar inter-denominational gatherings were arranged'.<sup>152</sup> That immediate increase in religious observance, and presumably belief, however, was short-lived as disenchantment with post-war conditions, and the church's strong support for war, developed during the 1920s.

As well as clergy, relatives and friends of the deceased were also seemingly present in greater numbers at WWI memorialisation ceremonies. They took centre stage at Langton Boys' whilst at Fettes there was only room at the memorial dedication in the school chapel for a small number of pupils. The reverend Dr. Andrew Wallace Williamson on that latter occasion took as his text 'Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses'.<sup>153</sup> Had he been speaking at a Boer War commemoration the required witnesses would have been the boys, so that they might be informed of the school's achievements and inspired to a life of duty and

<sup>152</sup> "Nation's Thanks For Peace." *Times* [London, England] 7 July 1919: 17+. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 10 Aug. 2016.

<sup>153</sup> *The Holy Bible*, The Epistle of Paul The Apostle To The Hebrews, chapter 12, verse 1, page 216.

sacrifice. Those two words, duty and sacrifice, were more in evidence at these later commemorations and reference to the importance and benign nature of empire was stressed even more than it had been twenty years earlier.

Empire, as Susan Pedersen remarks, was ‘at its greatest reach’ during the 1920s and ‘under [its] greatest pressure’ during the 1930s.<sup>154</sup> In the speeches made at schools in the immediate aftermath of war, empire was a recurring theme and during 1924/25, at Wembley, it was the subject of ‘the largest and most ambitious [exhibition] ever staged anywhere in the world’<sup>155</sup> Its frequent mention at school unveiling ceremonies indicates that it was seen as a vehicle to provide future employment for many schoolboys together with hope for better times ahead in a period of dissatisfaction and uncertainty. Both Prime Minister and King admitted to that air of disillusionment following WWI and the remedy was seen, particularly in schools, to be associated with empire. Those other two frequently used words ‘duty’ and ‘sacrifice’ were employed to emphasise the opinion that the cost of human life in the war had been worthwhile. In that regard it is worth restating Alex King’s comment, first mentioned on page 294, that the conflict was often justified as being a ‘purgative blood-sacrifice which would cleanse the world not only of political, but also of social and moral evil’.<sup>156</sup> In schools it was seen as a duty to make such a supreme sacrifice in the circumstances which led to the Great War. Changes in the perception of empire and of the concepts of duty and sacrifice were nevertheless on the way, in this period, but in another area change

<sup>154</sup> Pedersen, S., (2011) ‘The Empire Project: The Rise And Fall Of The British World System, 1830-1970, by John Darwin’, in *Victorian Studies*, volume 53, number 2, Winter 2011, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. p.322.

<sup>155</sup> Walthew, K. (1981) ‘The British Empire Exhibition Of 1924’, in *History Today*, vol. 31, issue 8. London: History Today Ltd. p.34.

<sup>156</sup> Walthew, K. (1981) ‘The British Empire Exhibition Of 1924’, in *History Today*, vol. 31, issue 8. London: History Today Ltd. p.130.

would be slow. Memorial design and unveiling were, in WWI commemoration at schools, still very much male-dominated activities with only four female artists and three female unveilers having been found amongst all the schools investigated. It would be another thirty years before *The Times* correspondent could indicate that the step which Miss Pinwill had taken early in the twentieth century, to set up her own wood carving business, had become much more usual.<sup>157</sup>

Memorials and ceremonies were generally more triumphant in the 1920s, taking a lead from such comments as those made by *The Times* and *British Weekly* in the immediate wake of the war and a widely-held view that the enemy was the embodiment of wickedness.<sup>158</sup> St. George, the victorious hero over evil, was a popular memorial choice as were triumphal hymns and music. At Uppingham School the military representatives arriving to perform the opening of a new Great Hall were greeted by a regimental band playing 'See the Conquering Hero Comes'.<sup>159</sup>

At schools generally, it seems that a stronger democracy was at work to decide the form of memorial and the shape of the ceremony arranged for its unveiling. Certainly in the case study of Eton the case for greater democracy has been demonstrated and, because of a new form of memorialisation emerging in the shape of educational provision elsewhere, it appears that a similar shift was wider spread. Ceremonies became more inclusive, but the question of greater democratisation nevertheless needs more work and it will be further discussed in the next chapter.<sup>160</sup>

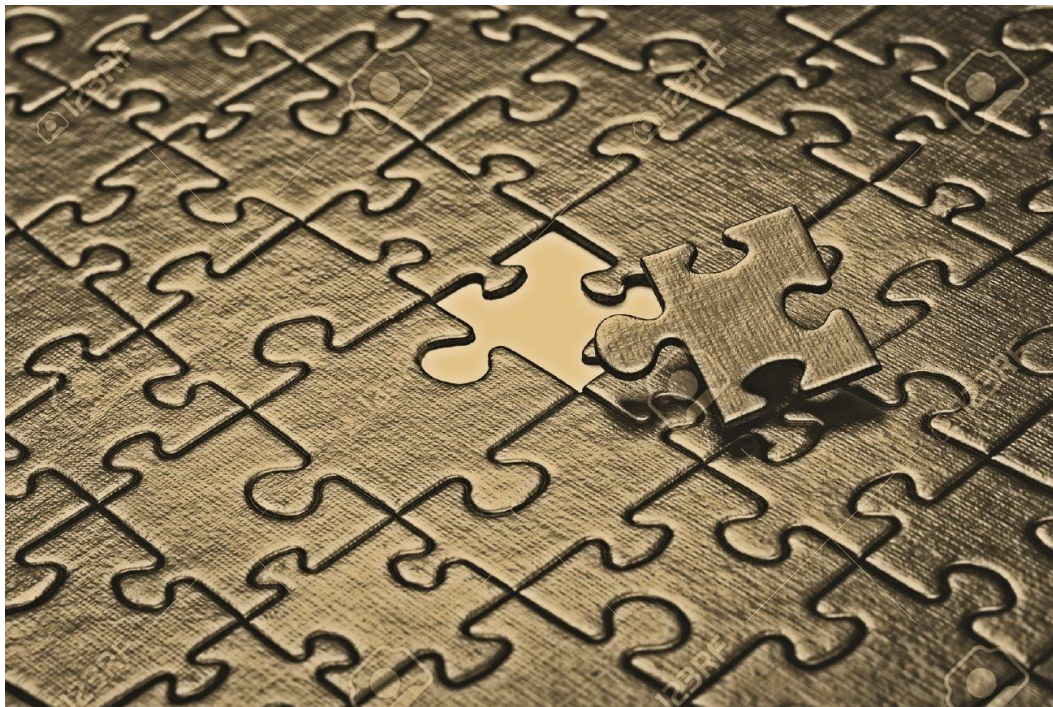
<sup>157</sup> "Miss Violet Pinwill." *Times* [London, England] 10 Jan. 1957: 13. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 June 2016.

<sup>158</sup> See page 293.

<sup>159</sup> Kernot, C.F., *British Public Schools War Memorials*, 117.

<sup>160</sup> *Conclusions and Areas for Future Study*, page 352.

# *Conclusions* **Conclusions** *and* **and** *Areas for Future Study* **Areas for Future Study**



**Putting the pieces together**

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### *Conclusions and Areas for Future Study*

The second Boer War began on Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> October 1899 when Britain rejected an ultimatum to, firstly, withdraw troops from the borders of Transvaal and, secondly, agree that reinforcements bound for the area should not disembark ship. Less than ten weeks later *The Times* was obliged to report that: ‘a critical military situation has arrived’; ‘British arms have been checked’, and ‘our generals are on the defensive’.<sup>1</sup> In one week alone, during the battles of Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso, about 3,000 men had been killed, wounded or captured by the enemy. Against a recent international background of military success without large loss of life, this news was shocking. Many of the men mentioned in this study had already died in the battles listed above, but hundreds more would be inspired to volunteer for service. Additional lives would be lost and an unprecedented desire to create memorials would later sweep through British schools.

This conclusion will begin by looking back at the memorials mentioned in Introduction, and analysed in Chapters One through Five, to assess what they say in terms of attitude, the messages they carried for future generations, and their success as memorials to the school’s dead. The section will then compare similarities and differences between the Boer and WWI memorials found in schools and comment on how that comparison feeds into the central argument. Finally, the chapter will indicate work which could form the basis for future research.

<sup>1</sup> "The Military Situation." *Times* [London, England] 18 Dec. 1899: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 7 Feb. 2018.

### *Attitudes*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century memorialisation was confined to persons of social position and rank and memorials have been found which commemorate survivors of war as well as those who lost their lives as a result. As the century wore on the individual, irrespective of rank or manner of death, began to be recognised whilst any practice of commemorating those who had remained alive following conflict was discontinued. By the time of the Boer War a vocabulary of commemoration had been developed. The principle of equality of sacrifice did not apply in all cases, however, resulting in junior rank not always being mentioned and high rank sometimes receiving greater prominence.

The form which memorials should take, and the words to be inscribed upon them, were matters which received careful consideration in the aftermath of the Boer War. The overall attitude adopted by those that commissioned and designed memorials was that they should convey a feeling of righteousness. The cause, the memorial creators considered, was worthy and just: the battles honest and noble. Factual reasons for the conflict ranged from suzerainty and the rights of Uitlanders,<sup>2</sup> to fears of a dilution in the imperial ideal, national prestige, and the concerns of gold-mining conglomerates. For those whom memorials were erected, however, reassurance as to the righteousness for which their remembered colleagues had fallen was designed to help them come to terms with loss. The great majority of schools in this study were aligned with a religion and it comes as no surprise that the overwhelming number of their memorials were placed in campus chapels where Christian approval of righteousness could be

<sup>2</sup> An Afrikaans word meaning foreigner – mainly British migrants who had arrived in South Africa following the discovery of gold in 1886.



underlined. The attitude of every school which erected memorials was that the war was honourable and necessary and that the dead had faithfully validated the institution's ethos and values.

It must also be said, when discussing the attitude to be read from memorials, that some tell more about the peacetime ambitions of those who commissioned them than the actual reactions of those individuals to war. At Eton, as has been demonstrated, the impressive memorial buildings satisfied one headmaster's long-held desire to address the whole school in one location.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the head at Oxford Preparatory believed that boys should receive practical education at school and the institution acquired a carpenters' shop as part of its tribute to the dead. The study has highlighted other comparable instances where, in the absence of armed conflict in which ex-pupils had died, the ambitions of men harbouring improvement schemes for their school may never have been realised.

### *Messages*

It will be recalled from Chapter Four,<sup>4</sup> that a group of serving officers met on the South African veldt and, in conversation, discovered they were alumni of Beaumont College, Old Windsor. They reminisced about school days and old friends, some, or all, of whom may have been amongst the five whose names appear on the college memorial unveiled in July 1904. The group's thoughts turned to the possibilities of memorialisation and it was their agreed desire that something be erected within the college around which future generations could meet, chat, and be encouraged to duty

<sup>3</sup> Maxwell Lyte, H.C., (1911) *History of Eton College (1440-1910)*, London: Macmillan and Co Limited. p.573.

<sup>4</sup> Page 216.



and bravery. It is apparent that these young men felt that lost lives should be memorialised by their school and that the site created should act as a place where martial inspiration could be found. Names of the men who formed this group are not known. The secretary of the fund eventually set up to realise their dream, however, later commented that ‘the idea met with a ready echo in the hearts of those at home’ and the unveiler of that dream said that it was fitting that those in South Africa ‘should come home, in imagination [to] be held in loving and reverential memory’.<sup>5</sup> Whether or not members of the group returned in imagination or in person remains a mystery.

In many of the schools covered, the depictions on memorials are of saints defeating either earthly or spiritual dragons. At some schools it was enough to represent the champion just in command of a sword whilst at one particular school, Felsted, the defeat scene shows David, a later king of Israel, slaying a bear. The widespread text adopted by schools was the Horatian phrase *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (it is sweet and fitting to die for one’s country). Such depictions as the dragon, sword, and bear align those being memorialised with actual or mythical heroes of the past who successfully battled right against evil. The images inspired viewers to martial service whilst the Horatian quotation sought to assure readers that in such service it was worthwhile to pay even the highest price in defence of strongly held ideals.

Pride is an additional message conveyed by memorials. Oratory School, Woodcote, still proudly displays, in its reception area, a board showing examples of all the medals won by ex-pupils in the course of nineteenth-century wars. Glenalmond and Dover

<sup>5</sup> "Naval & Military Intelligence." *Times* [London, England] 4 July 1904: 11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 22 Mar. 2018.

colleges included 'V C'<sup>6</sup> after names on their memorials whilst Marlborough and Malvern, also as examples, included 'D S O'.<sup>7</sup> Schools, generally, took pride in the number of their alumni engaged in war; in the tally of awards received for courage, and in the number of lives sacrificed (as they saw it) for the principal attitude conveyed by their memorials – righteousness of cause. Records of men serving, wounded and killed, together with details of their awards, were entered to school magazines which can also be considered as sites of remembrance. Schools were proud to circulate copies of their magazines to parallel institutions in an effort to demonstrate that past pupils had valiantly upheld the honour of the school.

### *Success?*

The plaque eventually erected at Beaumont exclusively delivered religious messages. It contained the college motto *Æterna non Caduca* (the eternal, not the earthly); the motto of the Jesuits, *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam* (to the greater glory of God), and *IHS*, a christogram forming an abbreviation for the name Jesus Christ. The huge obelisk erected at Haileybury displays the names of battles for which clasps were awarded. It also shows the school motto: *Fear God, Honour the King*. Uppingham's multi-functional building comprises a gymnasium, concert hall, and armoury with the inscriptions *Res Severa Est Verum Gaudium* (true pleasure is a serious business) over the east apsidal and *Caesorum Comitum Memores* (mindful of our fallen comrades) over the entrance door. Three very different memorials chosen from three very different schools, Beaumont, known as the 'Catholic Eton'; Haileybury, associated with the armed forces, and Uppingham, a progressive school located well north of the

<sup>6</sup> Victoria Cross.

<sup>7</sup> Distinguished Service Order.

London metropolitan area. Each school was happy with its choice of memorial and the overall impression formed of the schools in this study is that all regarded their memorial choice right and successful for their particular school.

It has been pointed out that not all schools adhered to the principal of equality of sacrifice. Wellington, Harrow and Rossall, for instance, mentioned rank in the case of officers but not in the case of private soldiers. In allowing such omissions, the schools left themselves open to criticism although no such disapproval seems to have been aired at the time of unveiling. These memorials, and others like them, must therefore be judged to have successfully incorporated the wishes of those who brought them into being without causing any apparent distress. From my own viewpoint, it will be argued in the next section that the memorials commissioned by schools in the wake of the Boer conflict, together with the speeches delivered at their unveiling, inspired a whole new generation of boys to go to war. If so, the school tenets of duty and sacrifice had been successfully built into the memorials and their presentation.

But to add a final thought to this section I return to the three school examples mentioned above to point out that Beaumont, Haileybury and Uppingham lost 133, 572 and 447 ex-pupils respectively in WWI. The number of alumni from these three schools who fought in the war runs into many more hundreds and there are several possible reasons for their participation. Perhaps they were swayed by the anti-German sentiment which swept Britain, and the continent, in the years leading up to the Great War; perhaps they responded to Kitchener's recruiting campaign; perhaps they feared German invasion; perhaps they felt obliged to make a moral choice; perhaps they just responded to peer pressure.

*Comparisons Boer War/WWI and the central argument*

The types of memorial for which schools opted were found to be very similar when comparing Boer War memorials with those erected in commemoration of WWI casualties, but the degree in which each type was found was different. Monuments; stained-glass windows; improvements to school facilities; tablets and plaques, together with utilitarian projects, all feature in both instances. Memorials became more elaborate and examples at Winchester, Lancing and Leeds have, amongst others, been cited. Buildings which were to provide practical purposes for the future, such as those at Charterhouse, Harrow, and the various schools which erected cricket pavilions, laid playing fields and built swimming baths featured more strongly. Funding schemes to deliver future education, in instances where the family breadwinner had been a victim of the war, were found only in WWI commemoration. Such funding recognised a new reality that a combatant's death in war could result in practical difficulties for those that mourned in addition to the emotional difficulty of coming to terms with their loss.

Memorial type, then, is where difference is to be found and it resulted not only in providing an appropriate response to the enormous loss of life but in schools' strengthening their own positions. Many school facilities were enhanced, and new ones introduced, thus making the institutions a more attractive offering to the parents of future generations. In some cases, very grand building schemes added to the stately appearance of the school. Further, several families with a long tradition of sending their sons to a particular institution were placed in a financial position where that tradition could continue. But it is in the unveiling of the memorials that continuity and similarity are evident and also where the schools were able to add strength. The

identity of the unveilers, military leaders and clergy, remained the same as did the messages of sacrifice, duty and hope which they delivered in their speeches. By the time of WWI, the formulae found by the schools to commemorate their Boer War casualties had inspired a whole new generation of boys to volunteer for war. For that majority of institutions which fell into the public/private category, their post-WWI place as educators of the country's elite, and suppliers of men of character to positions of leadership within the country and empire, had, at least for the time being, been cemented – helped by their attitudes to memorialisation and its presentation.

Deeper comparisons between Boer War and WWI memorials in schools remain to be made but additional research will be required and that is the subject of the next, and last, section of the thesis.

### *Areas for future study*

Chapters One through Five have been primarily concerned with the South African War of 1899-1902. An analysis of the men memorialised at public/private and private schools has been conducted and the methods of memorialisation placed against a longer tradition of remembrance. Commissioning processes, design and unveiling have all been addressed but the focus has essentially remained on that one conflict. Only in Chapter Six has the South African War been briefly juxtaposed with the Great War of 1914-1918. Further, although the British Army in South Africa was reinforced by contingents raised throughout the Empire, the involvement of alumni from schools beyond the British Isles has not been considered. Thesis size limitations provide the reason for the discussion and analysis of topics relating to WWI not having been confronted in the same detailed way as those relating to the Boer conflict. Similarly,

the inclusion of those nineteenth-century schools in Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia which modelled themselves on those considered throughout these chapters, would have considerably lengthened the study.

Two particular areas call for additional attention. Firstly, a change in the process under which memorial projects were chosen has been demonstrated in the Eton case studies where a greater democracy was at work in the wake of WWI than following the Boer conflict.<sup>8</sup> It has been argued that this democratisation was replicated at other schools and, if so, it will be an indicator that the age of the individual, in the person of a headmaster or particular governor, belonged more to the nineteenth century than to the twentieth. Secondly, greater attendance by clergy pervaded many 1920s school ceremonies and the reason, from a clerical viewpoint has been made clear.<sup>9</sup> Religion, according to existing historiography, was in decline following WWI. Nevertheless, the percentage of clergy performing unveilings in the schools studied rose, albeit by less than 3%, yet many more of them attended in support of military, and other, unveilers.<sup>10</sup> Greater acceptance of the war, particularly in the Church of England and its parallels in Wales, Scotland and Ireland, coupled to a hunger to arrest any decrease in religious observance accounts for the increase. The schools' eagerness for an expanded clerical presence, however, is currently not quite so clear. It is possibly accounted for by the belief that the school chapel, together with the activities performed therein, was traditionally looked upon as the institution's beating heart. Schools, almost without exception, were associated with a Christian belief and thus strongly promoted associated values. The importance of those values was apparently

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter Six, *The Future of Commemoration*.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See table at page 311.

seen in sharper focus following WWI as schools struggled to come to terms with the huge loss of alumni life. Clergy underlined a moral code which included obedience, duty, and, particularly, the biblical idea of self-sacrifice. A hypothesis has therefore been put forward that schools felt those qualities were underlined by being agreeable to allowing greater clerical participation.

In these two instances, then, there remains work to be done. The more we discover, the more questions remain.

## *Epilogue - Alex Fitch*<sup>1</sup>



Cecil Alexander Gordon Fitch was born on Wednesday 8<sup>th</sup> March 1899, the only son of barrister Cecil Edwin Fitch and his American wife Lillian Mabel, née Gordon.<sup>2</sup> As he shared the same first Christian name as his father, the young Fitch became known as Alex.

Alex Fitch, like Charles Toller mentioned in *Prologue*, grew up in an advantaged environment. At the time of the 1901 census he was living with his parents and four servants in the Hampstead area of London.<sup>3</sup> By the time of the next census, that of 1911, the family had partly moved to Gloucestershire and were occupying a twenty-eight-room mansion near the market town of Minchinhampton.<sup>4</sup> Alex now had a sister, Audrey, and a live-in tutor. Audrey had her own governess whilst Mrs Fitch

<sup>1</sup> Permission to use image obtained from WW1cemeteries.com@hotmail.co.uki. 2018. Permission request. 27 March. Email to: Dennis Huggins (hugginsd@gofree.indigo.ie).

<sup>2</sup> TNA. Westminster Marriages.

<sup>3</sup> TNA. 1901 England, Wales & Scotland Census, Archive reference RG13, Piece number 124, Folio 88, Page 44.

<sup>4</sup> TNA, 1911 England, Wales & Scotland Census, Census reference RG14PN15403 RG78PN935 RD327 SD7 ED8 SN116, RG78 code number 935, Piece number 15403.



had acquired a female companion and several additional servants. Alex's father, in addition to his barrister duties, had become a councillor for Putney Ward and was, at the time of the census, inhabiting a nineteen-room residence at Wimbledon where he employed his own staff.<sup>5</sup>

Alex attended Lambrook, Bracknell, and Harrow schools. He became head of his house, and a 'promising science scholar', at the latter where he was twice a member of the winning pair for the Torpid Shooting Cup, and once of the Silver Arrow Competition.<sup>6</sup>

Any man over the age of eighteen who had been privately educated was considered to be junior officer material in WWI thus when Alex joined the Royal Garrison Artillery in August 1917 he did so as a 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant.<sup>7</sup> He was sent to the front in March 1918: he died six months later, on Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup> September, of wounds received in action, and was buried at Brie British Cemetery on the Somme.<sup>8</sup> Harrow School erected a memorial building in remembrance of the 646 of its alumni who perished in WWI. It was opened by Prime Minister Baldwin on Thursday 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1926 and within the building is a space named the Alex Fitch Room, decorated with historic items having a Harrow connection.<sup>9</sup> The room was donated by Alex's mother in memory of her son.

<sup>5</sup> TNA, 1911 England, Wales & Scotland Census, Census reference RG14PN2401 RG78PN80 RD26 SD7 ED10 SN104

<sup>6</sup> "Deaths." *Times* [London, England] 30 Sept. 1918: 4. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 26 Mar. 2018.

<sup>7</sup> TNA. WO 339/101441, War Office: Officers' Services, First World War.

<sup>8</sup> TNA. Soldiers died in the Great War 1914-1919, 260/S B.

<sup>9</sup> "News in Brief." *Times* [London, England] 3 June 1926: 14. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 26 Mar. 2018.

Alex Fitch and Charles Toller were separated at Harrow School by a period of twenty years. Charles had just passed his twenty-second birthday when he died; Alex was just over nineteen-and-a-half. Both were one of a kind, coming from a privileged background and being privately educated. Both are memorialised at Harrow, Charles by a tablet in the chapel; Alex by the elaborate room which contains his portrait, permanently lit since 1926, apart from being extinguished during the hours of darkness in WWII to comply with blackout regulations. This thesis has shed light on many similar men, all eventually victims of those instincts of duty and ‘play the game’ acquired during their years at school.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Introduction*, page 48.

## Appendix A – List of Schools covered by this study

### *All-male Schools*

School/College name	Region	County	Location
Aldenham	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Elstree
All Hallows	England (S)	Devonshire	Honiton
Alley'n's	England (S)	Greater London	Dulwich
Ampleforth	England (M & N)	North Yorkshire	York
Aravon *	Ireland	Dublin	Rathmichael
Ardingly	England (S)	West Sussex	Haywards Heath
Ardvreck	Scotland	Perthshire	Crieff
Ayr	Scotland	Ayrshire	Ayr
Banbridge	Ireland	Down	Banbridge
Bandon Grammar	Ireland	Cork	Bandon
Bangor Grammar	Ireland	Down	Bangor
Beaumont	England (S)	Berkshire	Old Windsor
Bedford Grammar	England (S)	Bedfordshire	Bedford
Belfast Boys' Model	Ireland	Antrim	Belfast
Belvedere	Ireland	Dublin	Dublin
Berkhamsted	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Berkhamsted
Birkenhead	England (M & N)	Merseyside	Liverpool
Bishop's Stortford	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Bishop's Stortford
Blackrock *	Ireland	Dublin	Dublin
Bloxham	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Banbury
Blundell's	England (S)	Devonshire	Tiverton
Bootham	England (M & N)	North Yorkshire	York
Bradfield	England (S)	Berkshire	Reading
Bradford Grammar	England (M & N)	West Yorkshire	Bradford
Brighton	England (S)	East Sussex	Brighton
Bristol Grammar *	England (S)	Bristol	Bristol
Bromsgrove	England (M & N)	Worcestershire	Bromsgrove
Burton Grammar	England (M & N)	Staffordshire	Burton-on-Trent
Bury Grammar	England (M & N)	Greater Manchester	Bury
Calday Grange	England (M & N)	Merseyside	Wirral
Cambridge County High	England (S)	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge
Campbell	Ireland	Antrim	Belfast
Cargilfield	Scotland	Midlothian	Edinburgh
Carlisle	England (M & N)	Cumbria	Carlisle
Castleknock	Ireland	Dublin	Castleknock
Catholic University	Ireland	Dublin	Dublin
Charney Hall	England (M & N)	Lancashire	Grange-over-Sands
Charterhouse *	England (S)	Surrey	Godalming
Chatham House	England (S)	Kent	Ramsgate
Cheltenham *	England (S)	Gloucestershire	Cheltenham
Chertsey Handicraft	England (S)	Berkshire	Reading
Chigwell	England (S)	Essex	Chigwell
Christ	Wales	Powys	Brecon
Christ's Hospital	England (S)	West Sussex	West Horsham
City of London	England (S)	Greater London	London
City of Norwich	England (S)	Norfolk	Norwich
City of Oxford	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Oxford

School/College name	Region	County	Location
Clifton *	England (S)	Bristol	Clifton
Clongowes Wood *	Ireland	Kildare	Clane
St. Columba's *	Ireland	Dublin	Whitechurch
Colston's *	England (S)	Bristol	Stapleton
Cranbrook	England (S)	Kent	Cranbrook
Cranleigh	England (S)	Surrey	Cranleigh
Crypt	England (S)	Gloucestershire	Gloucester
Dean Close	England (S)	Gloucestershire	Cheltenham
Denstone *	England (M & N)	Staffordshire	Uttoxeter
Derby	England (M & N)	Derbyshire	Derby
Dover	England (S)	Kent	Dover
Downside	England (S)	Somersetshire	Bath
Dragon *	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Oxford
Drogheda Grammar	Ireland	Louth	Drogheda
Dulwich	England (S)	Greater London	Dulwich Common
Dundalk Grammar	Ireland	Louth	Dundalk
Durham	England (M & N)	Durham	Durham
Eastbourne	England (S)	East Sussex	Eastbourne
Edinburgh	Scotland	Midlothian	Edinburgh
Elizabeth	Dependencies	Channel Islands	Guernsey
Elstree	England (S)	Berkshire	Reading
Epsom	England (S)	Surrey	Epsom
Eton *	England (S)	Berkshire	Windsor
Exeter	England (S)	Devonshire	Exeter
Farnborough Hill	England (S)	Hampshire	Farnborough
Felsted	England (S)	Essex	Felstead
Fettes	Scotland	Midlothian	Edinburgh
Foyle	Ireland	Londonderry	Londonderry
Framlingham	England (S)	Suffolk	Framlingham
Friends'	Ireland	Antrim	Lisburn
Giggleswick	England (M & N)	North Yorkshire	Settle
Glasgow	Scotland	Strathclyde	Glasgow
Glenalmond Trinity	Scotland	Perth and Ross	Glenalmond
Gordon's	England (S)	Surrey	Woking
Gresham's	England (S)	Norfolk	Holt
Haberdashers' Aske's	England (S)	Greater London	Hampstead
Haberdashers' Aske's	England (S)	Greater London	Hatcham
Haileybury	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Haileybury
Harrow *	England (S)	Middlesex	Harrow on the Hill
Headfort	Ireland	Meath	Kells
Hele's	England (S)	Devonshire	Exeter
Hereford Cathedral	England (M & N)	Herefordshire	Hereford
Highgate	England (S)	Greater London	London
Hurstpierpoint	England (S)	West Sussex	Hurstpierpoint
Hymers	England (M & N)	E Riding of Yorkshire	Hull
Ipswich	England (S)	Suffolk	Ipswich
Kelly	England (S)	Devonshire	Tavistock
Kendrick *	England (S)	Berkshire	Reading
Kilkenny	Ireland	Kilkenny	Kilkenny
King Edward VI	England (S)	Suffolk	Bury St Edmunds
King Edward VI	England (M & N)	West Midlands	Birmingham
King Edward VI	England (S)	Hampshire	Southampton

School/College name	Region	County	Location
King Edward VII	England (S)	South Yorkshire	Sheffield
King William	Dependencies	Isle of Man	Castletown
King's	Ireland	Dublin	Palmerstown
King's Canterbury	England (S)	Kent	Canterbury
King's Cathedral	England (S)	Worcestershire	Worcester
King's Chester	England (M & N)	Cheshire	Chester
King's Wimbledon	England (S)	Greater London	Wimbledon Common
King's Ely	England (S)	Cambridgeshire	Ely
King's Rochester	England (S)	Kent	Rochester
Kingswood	England (S)	Somersetshire	Bath
Lancashire Royal	England (M & N)	Lancashire	Lancaster
Lancing	England (S)	West Sussex	Lancing
Leeds Grammar	England (M & N)	West Yorkshire	Leeds
Leighton Park	England (S)	Berkshire	Reading
The Leys *	England (S)	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge
Liverpool	England (M & N)	Merseyside	Liverpool
Llandovery	Wales	Carmarthenshire	Llandovery
Loretto	Scotland	East Lothian	Musselburgh
Magdalen	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Oxford
Maidstone Grammar	England (S)	Kent	Maidstone
Malvern	England (M & N)	Worcestershire	Malvern
Manchester Grammar	England (M & N)	Greater Manchester	Manchester
Marlborough	England (S)	Wiltshire	Marlborough
Mercer's	England (S)	Greater London	Holborn
Merchant Taylors'	England (M & N)	Merseyside	Liverpool
Merchant Taylors'	England (S)	Greater London	Northwood
Merchiston Castle	Scotland	Midlothian	Edinburgh
Mill Hill *	England (S)	Great London	Mill Hill Village
Monkton Coombe *	England (S)	Somersetshire	Bath
Monmouth Gram *	Wales	Monmouthshire	Monmouth
Newbridge	Ireland	Kildare	Newbridge
Newcastle-on-Tyne	England (M & N)	Tyne and Wear	Newcastle-on-Tyne
Newcastle-under-Lyme	England (M & N)	Staffordshire	Newcastle-under-Lyme
Newport (Adams')	England (M & N)	Shropshire	Newport
Newport Road	England (S)	Greater London	Leyton
Newtown	Ireland	Waterford	Waterford
Northampton Town	England (S)	Northamptonshire	Northampton
Nottingham High	England (M & N)	Nottinghamshire	Nottingham
Oakham	England (M & N)	Rutland	Oakham
Oundle	England (S)	Cambridgeshire	Peterborough
Owen's	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Potters Bar
Perse	England (S)	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge
Plymouth (Mannamhead)	England (S)	Devonshire	Plymouth
Portora Royal	Ireland	Fermanagh	Enniskillen
Portsmouth Grammar	England (S)	Hampshire	Portsmouth
Queen Elizabeth's	England (S)	Bristol	Clifton
Queen Elizabeth Grammar	Wales	Carmarthenshire	Johnstown
Radley	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Abingdon
Reading *	England (S)	Berkshire	Reading
Reed's	England (S)	Surrey	Cobham

School/College name	Region	County	Location
Repton	England (M & N)	Derbyshire	Repton
Rossall	England (M & N)	Lancashire	Fleetwood
Royal and Prior	Ireland	Donegal	Raphoe
Royal Armagh	Ireland	Armagh	Armagh
Royal Belfast	Ireland	Antrim	Belfast
Royal Cavan *	Ireland	Cavan	Cavan
Royal Dungannon	Ireland	Tyrone	Dungannon
Royal Hibernian	Ireland	Dublin	Dublin
Royse	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Abingdon
Rugby	England (M & N)	Warwickshire	Rugby
Rydal Penrhos	Wales	Conwy	Colwyn Bay
Sedbergh	England (M & N)	Cumbria	Sedbergh
Sherborne	England (S)	Dorsetshire	Sherborne
Shrewsbury	England (M & N)	Shropshire	Shrewsbury
Silcoates	England (M & N)	West Yorkshire	Wakefield
Simon Langton Boys' *	England (S)	Kent	Canterbury
Sligo Grammar	Ireland	Sligo	Sligo
St. Albans	England (S)	Hertfordshire	St Albans
St. Andrew's	Wales	Pembrokeshire	Tenby
St. Bees	England (M & N)	Cumbria	St Bees
St. Clare Preparatory	England (S)	Kent	Upper Walmer
St. Columb's	Ireland	Londonderry	Londonderry
St. Edmund's Salisbury	England (S)	Wiltshire	Salisbury
St. Edmund's Canterbury	England (S)	Kent	Canterbury
St. Edmund's Ware *	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Ware
St. Edward's	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Oxford
St. George's	England (S)	Hertfordshire	Harpenden
St. John's	England (S)	Surrey	Leatherhead
St. Lawrence	England (S)	Kent	Ramsgate
St. Mary's	England (M & N)	West Midlands	Sutton Coldfield
St. Ninian's	Scotland	Dumfries & Galloway	Moffat
Sts. Olave & Saviour *	England (S)	Kent	Orpington
St. Paul's	England (S)	Greater London	London
St. Peter's	England (M & N)	North Yorkshire	York
Stamford	England (S)	Lincolnshire	Stamford
Stationers'	England (S)	Middlesex	Hornsey Vale
Stonyhurst	England (M & N)	Lancashire	Clitheroe
Sutton Valence	England (S)	Kent	Maidstone
Taunton	England (S)	Somersetshire	Taunton
Tettenhall	England (M & N)	West Midlands	Wolverhampton
The Grange	England (S)	Kent	Folkestone
The London Oratory	England (S)	Greater London	London
The Oratory *	England (S)	Oxfordshire	Woodcote
Thomas Rotherham	England (M & N)	South Yorkshire	Rotherham
Tonbridge	England (S)	Kent	Tonbridge
Trent	England (M & N)	Derbyshire	Long Eaton
University College	England (S)	Greater London	Hampstead
Uppingham	England (M & N)	Rutland	Uppingham
Victoria	Dependencies	Channel Islands	Jersey
Villiers	Ireland	Limerick	Limerick

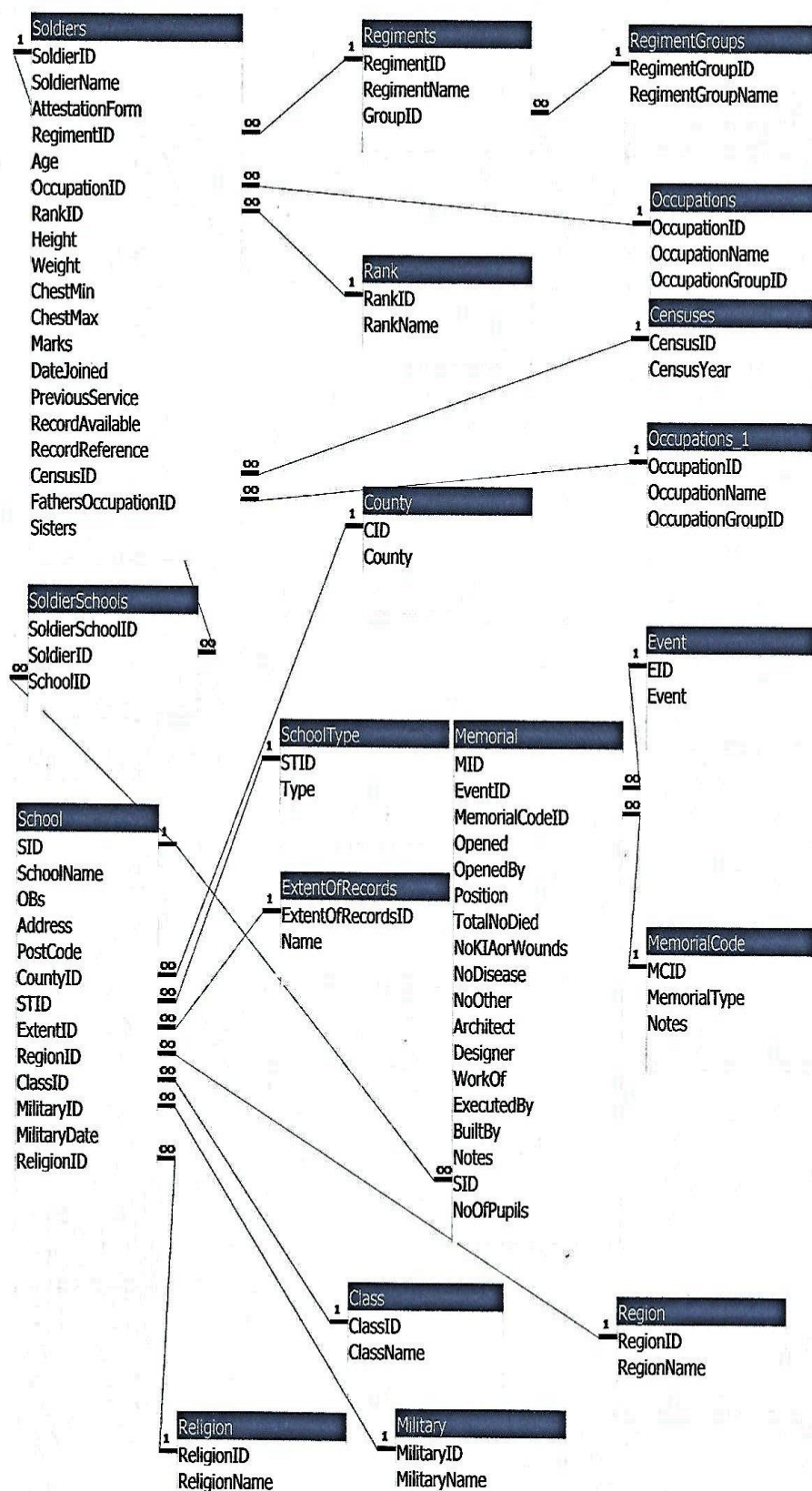
School/College name	Region	County	Location
Wakefield Grammar	England (M & N)	West Yorkshire	Wakefield
Warwick	England (M & N)	Warwickshire	Warwick
Wellingborough	England (S)	Northamptonshire	Wellingborough
Wellington College	England (S)	Berkshire	Crowthorne
Wellington School	England (S)	Somersetshire	Wellington
Wells Cathedral	England (S)	Somersetshire	Wells
Wesley *	Ireland	Dublin	Ballinteer
West Drayton	England (S)	Greater London	West Drayton
Westminster	England (S)	Greater London	Westminster
Weymouth	England (S)	Dorsetshire	Weymouth
Whitgift Grammar	England (S)	Surrey	South Croydon
Wilson's Hospital	Ireland	Westmeath	Multifarnham
Winchester *	England (S)	Hampshire	Winchester
Windlesham House	England (S)	West Sussex	Pulborough
Wolverhampton Grammar	England (M & N)	West Midlands	Wolverhampton
Worcester Grammar	England (M & N)	Worcestershire	Worcester
Worksop	England (M & N)	Nottinghamshire	Worksop
Wyggaston Grammar	England (M & N)	Leicestershire	Leicester

### *All-female Schools*

School/College name	Region	County	Location
Cheltenham Ladies'	England (S)	Gloucestershire	Cheltenham
Badminton	England (S)	Bristol	Bristol
St. Catherine's	England (S)	Surrey	Bramley
Roedean	England (S)	East Sussex	Brighton
Mount Anville *	Ireland	Dublin	Dublin
Woldingham	England (S)	Surrey	Woldingham
Craiglockhart	Scotland	Midlothian	Edinburgh
Mount Catherine's	Ireland	Armagh	Armagh
Sacred Heart	Ireland	Tipperary	Roscrea
St. Joseph's	Scotland	Aberdeenshire	Aberdeen
Kilgraston	Scotland	Perthshire	Bridge of Earn

\* Schools visited.

## Appendix B – Database layout





## Appendix C - Rank Categories and Individual Ranks <sup>1</sup>

<b>Privates</b>		<b>266</b>
	Privates	143
	Troopers	113
	Field Dressers	1
	Linesmen	1
	Trumpeters	1
	Sappers	3
	Drummers	2
	Drivers	1
	Rangers	1
<b>Corporals</b>		<b>52</b>
	Corporals	36
	Lance-Corporals	15
	Acting-Bombardiers	1
<b>Sergeants</b>		<b>44</b>
	Sergeants	42
	Lance-Sergeants	2
<b>Warrant Officers</b>		<b>9</b>
	Sergeants-Major	4
	Quarter-Master-Sergeants	2
	Colour Sergeants	2
	Veterinary Sergeant	1
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenants</b>		<b>93</b>
	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lieutenants	92
	Extra ADC staff	1
<b>Lieutenants</b>		<b>290</b>
	Lieutenants	290
<b>Captains</b>		<b>197</b>
	Captains	196
	Captain-Surgeon	1
<b>Majors</b>		<b>62</b>
	Majors	53
	Brevet-Majors	7
	Brigade-Majors	1
	Hon-Majors	1
<b>Senior Ranks</b>		<b>36</b>
	Major and Hon-Lieutenant-Colonels	1
	Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonels	3
	Lieutenant-Colonels	19
	Lieutenant-Generals	1
	Colonels	12
<b>Total number of individuals</b>		<b>1,049</b>

<sup>1</sup> As mentioned on page 120, these rank classifications, broadly, follow emblems of authority on the clothing [www.army.mod.uk/BritishArmyStructure](http://www.army.mod.uk/BritishArmyStructure) provides details.

*Bibliography**Archival abbreviations*

Abbreviation	Explanation
AAD	Archive of Art & Design, Victoria and Albert Museum
ADR	Ashplant, T.G., Dawson, G., and Roper, M.
A&SH	Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders
BGA	Bristol Grammar Archives
BLI	British Library
BMD	Births, Marriages, Deaths
CCA	Cheltenham College Archives
CCB	Clifton College Archives
CHA	Charterhouse Archives
CHG	Chatham House Grammar Archives
DSA	Dragon School (Oxford Preparatory) Archives
DSO	Distinguished Service Order
ECA	Eton College Archives
HMC	Headmasters' Conference
IHS	A christogram forming an abbreviation for the name Jesus Christ
KRRC	King's Royal Rifle Corps
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MGS	Maidstone Grammar Archives
MTS	Merchant Taylors' School, London, Archives
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
OBL	Oxford University Bodleian Library
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OE <sub>s</sub>	Old Etonians
RCA	Radley College Archives
RSA	Repton School Archives
SGS	Stamford Grammar Archives
SJL	St. John's School Archives
SLB	Simon Langton Boys' School Archives
SPS	St. Paul's School Archives
SSA	Sherborne School Archives
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
TPL	The Pepys Library, Cambridge
UCS	University College School
VC	Victoria Cross
WCA	Winchester College Archives
WSA	Westminster School Archives

## *Primary Sources*

### *School Magazines*

*Bloxhamist* – Magazine of Bloxham School, Banbury.  
*Carthusian* – Magazine of Charterhouse.  
*Chatham House Review*.  
*Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine*.  
*Cheltonian* – Magazine of Cheltenham College.  
*Cliftonian* – Magazine of Clifton College, Bristol.  
*Draconian* – Magazine of Dragon School, formerly the Oxford Preparatory School.  
*Elizabethan* – Magazine of Westminster School.  
*Eton College Chronicle* – Magazine of Eton College.  
*Grammar School Chronicle* – Magazine of Bristol Grammar School.  
*Harrovian* – Magazine of Harrow School.  
*Johnian* – Magazine of St John's School, Leatherhead.  
*Kingswood* – Magazine of Kingswood School, Lansdowne, Bath.  
*Langtonian* – Magazine of Simon Langton Boys' School.  
*Maidstonian* – Magazine of Maidstone Grammar School.  
*Olavian* – Magazine of St. Olave's and St. Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark.  
*Our Magazine* – Magazine of North London Collegiate School for Girls.  
*Pauline* – Magazine of St Paul's, London.  
*Radleian* – Magazine of Radley College, Abingdon.  
*Reptonian* – Magazine of Repton School.  
*Roedean School Magazine*.  
*Shirburnian* – Magazine of Sherborne School.  
*Stamfordian* – Magazine of Stamford Grammar School.  
*Taylorian* – Magazine of Merchant Taylors' School, London.  
*Ulula* – The Manchester Grammar School magazine.

### *School Archives*

CHA – Charterhouse Governing Body Minute Book.  
CCB – Minute Book.  
CHA – 83/3/2, MS. Of Sir Richard C. Jebb's speech at the unveiling of the  
Memorial Tablets in the South African Memorial Cloister, July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1903.  
ECA – Eton War Memorial Fund Minute Book.  
ECA – Eton War Memorial Fund, First Annual Report, 4 June 1918.  
ECA – Lupton's Chantry.  
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